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The NATURAL and CIVIL

HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH DOMINIONS

IN

North and South America.

With an Hiſtorical Detail of the ACQUISITIONS, and CONQUESTS, made by the BRITISH ARMS in thoſe Parts.

Giving a particular Account of the

CLIMATE,	MANUFACTURES,
SOIL,	TRADE,
MINERALS,	COMMERCE,
ANIMALS,	AND
VEGETABLES,	LANGUAGES.

TOGETHER WITH

The Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners and Cuſtoms of the INDIANS and other Inhabitants.

ILLUSTRATED BY

Maps and Plans of the principal Places,

Collected from the beſt Authorities, and engraved by

T. JEFFERYS, Geographer to his MAJESTY.

PART I. Containing

A Deſcription of Canada and Louiſiana.

LONDON:

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, at Charing-Croſs; W. JOHNSTON, in Ludgate-ſtreet; J. RICHARDSON in Pater-noſter-Row; and B. LAW and Co. in Ave-Mary-Lane.

MDCCLXI.

1761

To the HONOURABLE

GEORGE TOWNSHEND,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL

Of His MAJESTY's Forces in NORTH-AMERICA,

And COLONEL of

The Twenty-eighth Regiment of Foot.

SIR,

A Natural and civil hiſtory of the French empire in North-America, publiſhed by *a* ſubject of this kingdom, could ſcarce appear with propriety, at this time, if it was not addreſſed to General TOWNSHEND, who, by the reduction of Quebec, the capital of that empire, has ſubjected the whole to the dominion of Great-Britain. It is not however neceſſary on this occaſion either to relate the event, or to particularize the virtues that effected it. The event is neceſſarily known by its importance, and the addition of ſo great an extent of territory, and ſo many thouſand ſubjects to the Britiſh crown, are memorials which can neither be overlooked nor forgotten, and which render all others, not only unneceſſary but impertinent; neither can it be neceſſary to tell the world, that *he* is eminent for courage, activity, and ſpirit, who, when he was in a civil capacity, ſurrounded by the luxuries of peace, with a fortune by which they were beſt ſecured, and at an age when they are moſt enjoyed, went a volunteer in the ſervice of his country, to traverſe the wilds of America, and expoſe his life to dangers not common even to war; to ambuſhes which vigilance can ſeldom eſcape, to ſavages who attack without being ſeen, and inſtead of taking priſoners, the wounded or unarmed, murder them in cold blood, and carry off their ſcalps as a trophy. That General TOWNSHEND has an undoubted claim to this merit, and that one of the beſt concerted, yet moſt daring enterpriſes that military genius

nius ever formed, was by him carried into execution, cannot fail to be recorded in that period of the British history, which will do us more honour than any other, as it will include a greater number of events, in the higheſt degree glorious and important, the editor of this work therefore can only hope to do himſelf honour by taking this opportunity to ſubſcribe himſelf,

SIR,

Your moſt

Obedient

and

Devoted

Humble Servant,

THOMAS JEFFERYS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Poſſeſſions of the *French* upon the Continent of *North America*, were always an intereſting Object to *Great-Britain*, as it is always neceſſary to know the Situation, Strength and Reſources of contiguous Dominions that belong to a powerful State, whoſe Oppoſition of Intereſt makes her a natural Enemy, and whoſe military and commercial Knowledge makes her formidable as well in Peace as in War. But the Knowledge of this Territory is now become yet more important, as Providence has thought fit by a Series of Succeſſes almoſt miraculous, to make it *our own*. It is hoped therefore that this Work needs no Recommendation as to its Deſign, as to the Execution, if it ſhould be found to deſerve Recommendation, it will effectually recommend itſelf: It has been compiled with the utmoſt Diligence and Attention from the beſt Accounts that are already extant, either in our own or other Languages, and improved by Materials that have from Time to Time been communicated to the Editor, by Perſons whoſe Names, if he was at Liberty to mention them, would do him Honour; it contains therefore in one View, a more regular, comprehenſive and particular Account of the Subject than has hitherto appeared, and as ſuch is ſubmitted to the Candour of the Public.

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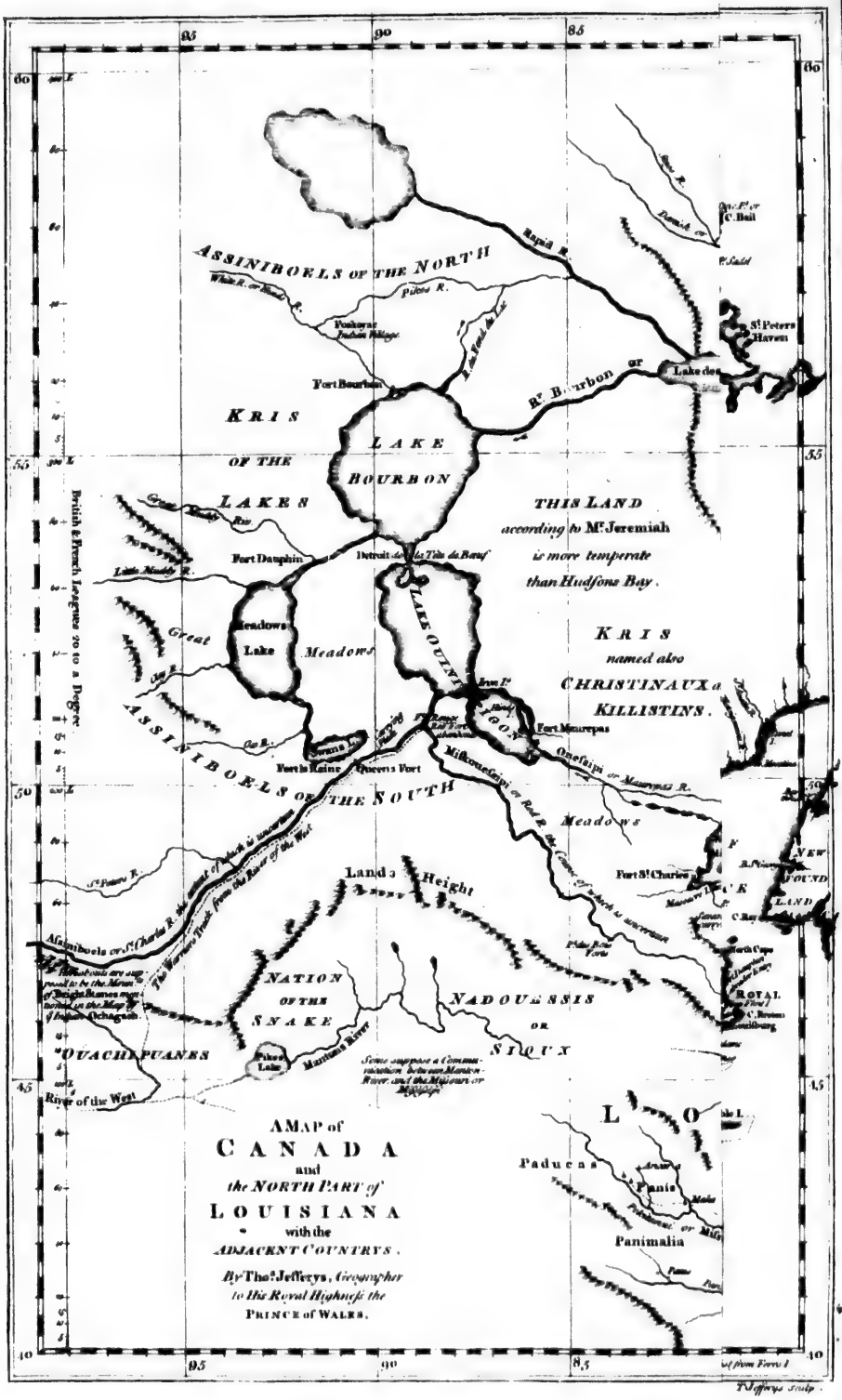
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SNAKE
NADOUESSIS
OR
SIOUX
OUACHPUANES
River of the West
Fort Bourbon
Fort Dauphin
Fort Maurepas
Fort St Charles
Fort la Reine
Queens Port
Lake des
Paduca
Panis
Panimalia
A MAP of
CANADA
and
the NORTH PART of
LOUISIANA
with the
ADJACENT COUNTRYS.
By Thos Jefferys, Geographer
to His Royal Highness the
PRINCE of WALES.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE;

OR THE

FRENCH Dominions in NORTH AMERICA.

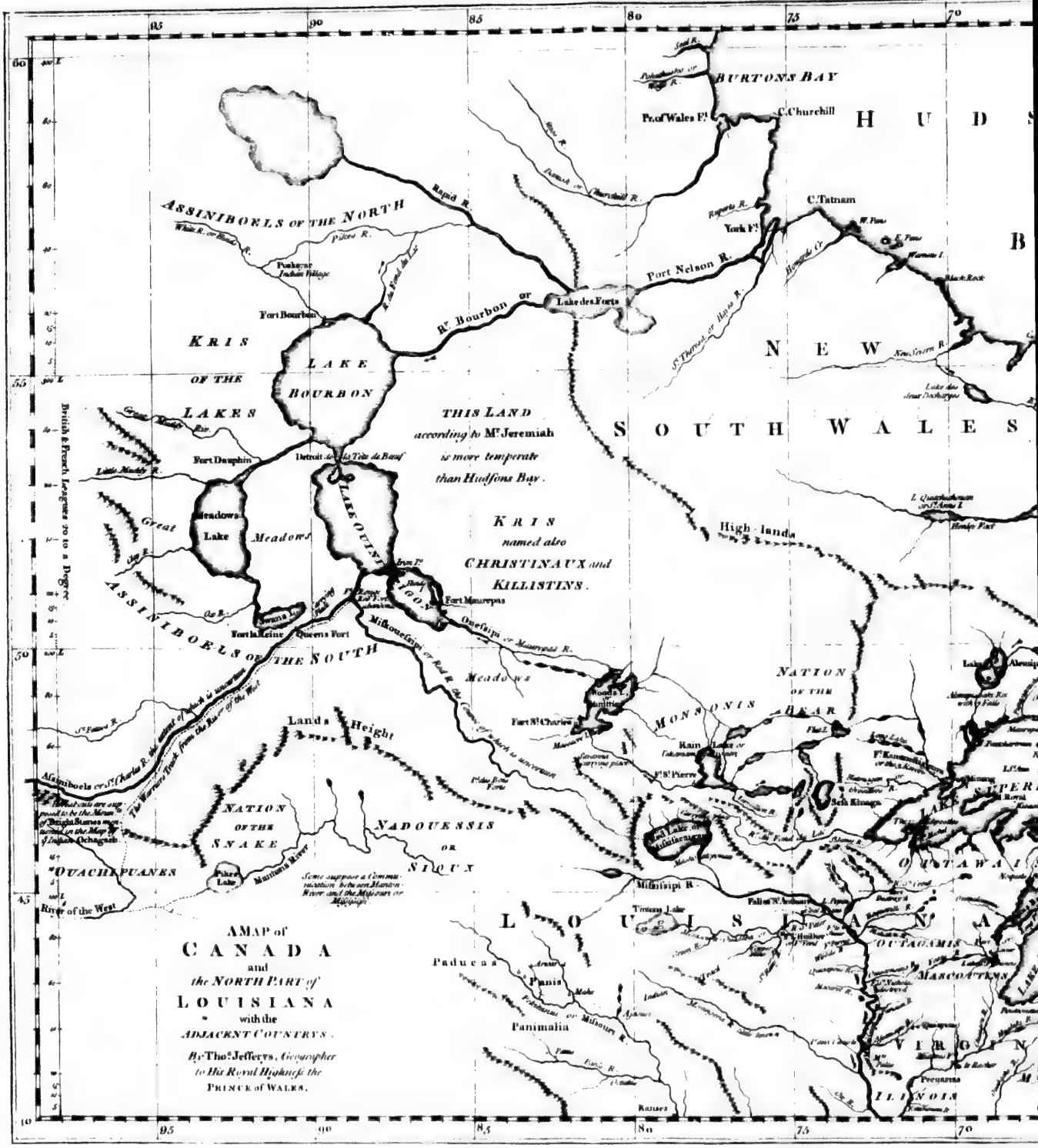
THE Country ſubject to the Crown of *France* on the *Continent* of *North America*, which is larger than the *Roman* empire ever was, in its moſt flouriſhing times, is divided into two parts, the Northern named *Canada*, and the Southern *Louiſiana*; both of them under the direction of a Governor-General, Intendant, and Supreme Council of *New France*, reſiding at *Quebec*.

CANADA.

CANADA, in the *Indian* language, ſignifies the *Mouth of the Country*, from *Can*, Mouth, and *Ada*, the Country. Under the name of *Canada*, the *French* would comprehend all that part of *North America* ſituated between 40 and 55 degrees of North latitude, and 42 and 75 of longitude Eaſt from *Ferro*, including great part of *New England*, and *New York*, and almoſt the whole of the province of *Nova Scotia*. *Canada*, according to the *French*.

CANADA, according to the *Engliſh* account, is bounded on the North by the *Highlands*, which ſeparates it from the country about *Hudſon's Bay*, *Labrador*, or *New Britain*, and the country of the *Eſkimeaux*, and the *Chriſtineaux*; on the Eaſt, by the river *St Laurence*; and on the South, by the *Outawai River*, the country of the *Six Nations*, and *Louiſiana*, its limits towards the Weſt extending over countries and nations hitherto undiſcovered. *Canada*, according to the *Engliſh*.

The ſoil of this country is generally very fruitful, but the winter, for ſix months of the year, is extremely ſevere; the ſnow is always ſix feet deep, and, what contributes to give the people of *Europe* a worſe notion of this country than it actually deſerves, this ſeaſon comes on juſt before the ſhips ſet ſail for *France* and other places on this ſide the *Atlantic*, and that ſo ſuddenly that in two or three days the rivers are full of vaſt ſhoals of ice, all the beauties of nature are hid, and the eye is pained with an univerſal whiteneſs; there is no longer any difference between land and water, the trees are covered with icicles, which are even dangerous to thoſe that ſtand under them; there is no more ſtirring out of doors, without being wrapped up in fur, and, in ſpite of this precaution, not a winter paſſes without loſs of limbs by the benumbing cold, and though the weather is ſomewhat milder, when the wind gets into the South or Eaſt quarter, yet during that time there is always a prodigious fall of ſnow, ſo that you cannot ſee ten paces before you. There blows ſo piercing a Weſt wind that it almoſt peels the ſkin off the face; in ſhort, during this terrible ſeaſon, which is attended with the pureſt and ſereneſt ſky imaginable, the cold is ſo ſharp and intenſe that even the bears dare not ſtir out of their dens. Severity of the climate.


A MAP of
CANADA
and
the NORTH PART of
LOUISIANA
with the
ADJACENT COUNTRYS.
By Thos Jefferys, Geographer
to His Royal Highness the
PRINCE of WALES.
BURTONS BAY
Pr. of Wales Ft
C. Churchill
H U D S
B
NEW
SOUTH WALES
ASSINIBOELS OF THE NORTH
Rapid R.
Pilieres R.
Poskoyac
Indian Village
Fort Bourbon
R. Bourbon or
Lake des Forts
Port Nelson R.
York Ft
C. Tatnam
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Fort Dauphin
Detroit de la Tete du Bœuf
Fort Maurepas
Fort la Reine
Queens Fort
Miskousipi or Red R.
Ouesiipi or Maurepas R.
ASSINIBOELS OF THE SOUTH
Meadows
High lands
NATION
OF THE
BEAR
MONSONIS
Fort St Charles
Lands Height
Assiniboels or St Maria R.
NATION
OF THE
SNAKE
NADOUESSIS
OR
SIOUX
OUACHPUANES
River of the West
Pikes Lake
Mantoura River
Some suppose a Communication between Mantoura River and the Missouri or Missipi
Missisipi R.
Tintons Lake
L O U I S I A N A
Paduca's
Panis
Panimaha
Missouri R.
Ilinois R.
Rancers
OUTAOAMIS
MASCOUTENS
VIRGIN
ILLINOIS
British & French Leagues 20 to a Degree

HUDSONS
BAY
LABRADOR
OR
NEW BRITAIN
WALES
JAMES
BAY
ESKIMEAUX
Nitchiks
Ouchestigouets
Attikouets
Outchichagamis
Mistassins
Abbitibis
Timiskamouets
Timiskaming
CANADA
ALGONQUINS
SUPERIOUR
OUTAWAIS
OUTAGAMIS
MARCOATTENS
VIRGINIA
ILLINOIS
MIAMIS
LAKE HURON
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE ERIE
ONTARIO
PENSILVANIA
ST LAURENCE RIVER
GULF OF ST LAURENCE
NEWFOUNDLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
ROYAL
FUNDY BAY
Cape Sable
Sable I.
Nova Scotia Fishing Banks
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Very doubtful
Ganten Bay
St Peters Haven
C. Chidley
C. Bald
C. Jones
Bear Is
Vieux I.
Charlton I.
Alemipigon
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superiour
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Abbitibis
Lake Quinsarchis
Lake Nipissing
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Winnipeg
Lake des Deserts
Lake des Allemands
Lake Winnipic
Lake Manitou
Lake Winipigon
Lake Alemipigon
Lake Nipissing
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Abbitibis
Lake Quinsarchis
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superiour
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario

In return for ſo many incoveniencies, there is ſuch an amazing abundance of game, mutton, poultry, beef, and fiſh of all ſorts, that one almoſt regrets the return of the ſpring, which, after a long delay, begins to appear towards *May*, and which is ſo much the more charming as it ſucceeds to a very ſevere ſeaſon. Add to this the heat of their ſummer in this country, which enables them to reap their crops in four months from the ſowing of the ſeed; and the mildneſs of the autumn, during which there is a moſt beautiful and uninterrupted ſerenity, ſuch as is rarely ſeen in the fineſt parts of *Europe*, ſo that one cannot wonder the *Canadians* ſhould even prefer this country to that of *Old France*.

Difference of ſeaſons.

The long continuance of the ſnow upon the ground; the great number of mountains, foreſts, rivers, and lakes, and the natural humidity of the ſoil; together with the vaſt quantity of ice on the Northern Ocean; and the high ſituation of the lands in this tract, are probably the cauſes of this exceſſive ſeverity of the weather, during this ſeaſon, in *Canada*, though under the ſame climates with the moſt temperate provinces of *Europe*. It has been obſerved, that, for the four years laſt paſt, the winters have gradually abated of their ſeverity, and probably the weather here will continue to grow milder, in proportion as the country is cleared of its vaſt quantity of woods, and as it begins to be cultivated, drained, and peopled. There is a chain of mountains running Eaſt and Weſt more than four hundred leagues, from *Tadouſac* as far as Lake *Superior*, which is probably the cauſe of ſuch extraordinary quantities of ſnow as fall in this country.

Cauſes of the exceſſive cold.

Corn thrives to admiration in thoſe grounds that have been cleared, but ſuch fruits as require any great degree of heat ſeldom ſucceed here, probably becauſe nipped by the froſt. There are great numbers of wild vines; greens of all ſorts come to great perfection; the lakes are well ſtored with fiſh, and their banks are almoſt covered with water-fowl and other game, beſides beavers, martins, ſables, *&c.* not to mention an infinity of other birds and quadrupedes, which abound in this country.

Plenty of *Canada*.

The conſtant ſerenity of the air in this province, where it ſeldom or never rains, renders it extremely wholeſome to *European* conſtitutions; and an author of credit aſſures us, that he knew upwards of ſixty *French*, and thoſe of very delicate complexions, and but indifferently provided with wholeſome food, beſides inconceivable other hardſhips and inconveniences they had to undergo, during a reſidence of ſixteen years among the *Hurons*, all ſurviving after ſo long and wearifome a term; a circumſtance, which ſufficiently proves the ſalubrity of the climate.

Its ſalubrity.

Beſides the great plenty of ſtags, elks, bears, foxes, martins, goats, wolves, wild fowl, and other game, with which, as I have obſerved, this country abounds, the meadow grounds which are all plentifully watered, yield excellent graſs, and feed great herds of large and ſmall cattle; and lands in tillage produce the moſt plentiful crops. The mountains abound with mines of coal, and are not deſtitute of ſilver, iron, and other minerals, though not worked, or at leaſt with any great advantage; and the marſhy grounds, which are a great part of this country, ſwarm with beavers, otters, and other amphibious animals.

Fertility of ſoil.

Mines.

Amongſt the great number of rivers which water *Canada*, the moſt conſiderable are, the river *St Lawrence*, which croſſes it from South-weſt to North-eaſt, and is twenty-ſeven leagues in breadth, where it empties itſelf into the Gulf of *St Lawrence*; the river *Bourbon*, which has its opening in *Hudſon's Bay*; the rivers *Saguenay* and *Outaway*, which falls into the river *St Lawrence*; and the *Miſſiſſipi*, or river *St Louis*, the ſource of which is generally placed in about forty-five degrees of latitude, and 74 of longitude Weſt from *Ferro*, which waters the Weſtern parts of *Canada* from North-Weſt to South-eaſt, and afterwards from North to South.

Rivers.

There are alſo a great number of lakes, and, amongſt them, ſeveral of very great extent; as for inſtance, Lake *Superior*, of five hundred leagues circuit. There are three great lakes beſides, ſtill higher than Lake *Superior*, all of them croſſed by the ſtream that runs into

Lakes.

The River ST LAWRENCE.

This river has its ſource, as is commonly thought, in the lake of the *Aſſinibocls*; a point, which, however, is far from being decided, though its courſe has been ſurveyed for between ſeven and eight hundred leagues. It empties itſelf into the Gulf of *St Lawrence*, and exceeds in beauty and greatneſs all the rivers of *Canada*. The Gulf of *St Lawrence* is four-ſcore leagues in length, and the currents in it are ſo ſtrong, that it has been ſailed over in twenty-four hours with a favourable wind.

Gulf of *St Lawrence*.

About

About half way over are the *Iſles des Oiſeaux*, or *Bird Iſlands*, two rocks, which riſe in the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf, about ſixty foot from the water's edge, the greateſt not above three hundred paces in circumference. The quantity of water-fowl on theſe rocks, which are covered and coloured all over with their ordure, is aſtoniſhing. Several ſloops have been loaded with their eggs, and on firing a cannon, which alarms the whole body of this feathered commonwealth, they riſe in ſuch numbers, as to form an impenetrable cloud, which hides the ſky for two or three leagues round. *Bird Iſlands.*

The entrance of the river *St Lawrence* is properly reckoned from Cape *Roſiers* in *Nova Scotia*, where it is about twenty-ſeven leagues broad. Three leagues to the South of this are the Bay and Point of *Gaſpé*, or *Gachapé*. Three leagues below this Bay is the *Iſle Percee*, or *Bored Iſland*, ſo called from a rock riſing in form of an arch, thro' which a fiſhing bark may paſs under ſail. This has the appearance of a ruined wall. Navigators know when they are near this part, by a flat mountain, called *Rowland's Table*. A league from this iſland is that of *Bonaventure*, or *Good Fortune*; and at ten leagues diſtance from hence is the Iſland *Miſcou*, which is eight leagues round, and has an excellent harbour. Near this iſland is a fountain of freſh water, which riſing from the middle of the ſea, ſprings into the air to a conſiderable height. All theſe parts are extremely well ſituated for the fiſhery, which are very plentiful in the neighbouring parts of the Gulf and River; on which account, ſome intelligent *French* writers regret their not having ſettlements here for that branch of commerce, which they juſtly preſer to the fur trade, for which, this of the fiſhery in thoſe parts has been neglected. *Cape Roſiers.* *Gaſpé* Point and Bay. *Bored Iſland.* *Bonaventure* and *Miſcou Iſlands.*

In the middle of the mouth of the River *St Lawrence* lies the Iſland of *Natiſkotek*, corruptly called *Anticoſti*, about twenty-ſeven leagues in length, but very narrow, and of no manner of utility, being deſtitute of wood, barren, and without ſo much as a ſingle harbour, where ſhips can remain with any degree of ſafety. Its coaſts, however, abound in fiſh. It was imagined, that this iſland was not deſtitute of mines; but, from trials that have been made, this opinion appears entirely without foundation. *Anticoſti Iſle.*

After paſſing this iſland, you ſee the land on both ſides. On the left ſhore, in *Nova Scotia*, appears a chain of very high mountains, called *Monts Notre Dame*, and *Mount Louis*, between which are ſome valleys, formerly inhabited by ſavages. In the neighbourhood of *Mount Louis* the ſoil is very good, and there are ſome *French* habitations. This place is eſteemed well ſituated for a ſettlement, to carry on the whale fiſhery, and would alſo be very convenient for ſupplying ſhips from *Europe* with neceſſaries.

On the oppoſite ſhore, in latitude 50° 8′, lie the *Sept Iſles*, or *Seven Iſlands*, among which are ſeveral good roads, with anchorage fit for ſhips of large burthen, in which they may ride ſafe in bad weather. Theſe iſlands the *French* navigators endeavour to make, as ſoon as they have paſſed by *Anticoſti*, taking care to avoid the rocks about *Egg Iſlands*, where Admiral *Walker*'s fleet, in the expedition to *Canada*, was loſt, through the ignorance of the pilot, *Auguſt* 23, 1711. *Sept Iſles.*

Seventeen leagues to the South-weſt of the *Seven Iſlands* is a promontory, called *la Point des Monts Pelées*, or *Point of Bald Mountains*, and, by ſome authors, *Armont*, and *Trinity Point*, which navigators leave at large on their right, and for which it is proper to keep a good look out. Another land-mark on the Southern ſhore is, the double-headed mountain, called *Les Mamelles de Matane*, or *Paps of Matane*, about two leagues within land, in the wildeſt country that can be imagined, being an entire medley of ſand, rocks, and impenetrable woods, but well watered, and abounding in game. *Point des Monts Pelés.*

On the other ſide of the river, about ſix leagues from the *Bald Mountains*, is *St Nicholas*, or *Engliſh Harbour*, a very fit place for merchant ſhips in bad weather. Nine leagues from this are the dangerous breakers of *Manicouagan*, projecting two leagues from land, and famous for ſhipwrecks. They take their name from a river, which riſes among the mountains of *Labrador*, and afterwards forms a pretty large lake of the ſame name, but more commonly known by that of *Lake St Barnabé*, and diſcharges itſelf into the river acroſs theſe breakers. In ſome maps it is called *la Riviere Noir*, or the *Black river*. As far as this, and near ſixteen leagues higher, the tides are hardly perceivable. Dangerous Breakers.

Thirty-two leagues higher up is the River *Saguenay*, which is capable of receiving ſhips of the greateſt burthen twenty-five leagues above its mouth, in entering of which you leave the port of *Tadouſſac* on the right hand, where moſt geographers have placed a city, though there is only one *French* houſe, and ſome huts of the ſavages, who bring them, at the time of ſelling their furrs and other commodities, and carry them off like ſtalls at a fair when they go away. Formerly, this port was for a long time the reſort *Saguenay* River. *Tadouſſac* Port.

and chief mart of the *Indians* lying towards the North and Eaſt. The *French* reſorted hither as ſoon as the navigation of the river was open, both from *France* and from *Canada*; and the miſſionaries took this opportunity to traffic in their own way. The fair being ended, the merchants returned to their ſeveral habitations, and the ſavages retired with the miſſionaries, who followed them home in order to take a better opportunity to finiſh their converſion. *Tadouſſac* is an excellent harbour, the anchoring good, the entrance very eaſy, and they ſay it is capable of affording ſhelter to five and twenty men of war againſt all the winds that can blow. It is almoſt round, and ſurrounded on all ſides with rocks of a prodigious height, from which iſſues a ſmall rivulet capable of ſupplying the ſhipping with freſh water. The whole country abounds in marble, but its greateſt riches, ſays *Charlevoix*, would certainly be the whale fiſhery. The *Baſque*'s, (inhabitants of *Bayonne*, and other Southern parts of *Gaſcony*) in *France*, formerly carried on this trade with ſucceſs, and there are ſtill to be ſeen on a little iſland which bears their name, the remains of their furnaces, and the ribs of whales. This fiſhery carried on thus within the banks of a river, muſt be attended with great advantages above that diſtant and hazardous way of going to the coaſt of *Greenland*, at ſo much expence.

Green Iſland. But before this I ſhould have mentioned an anchoring place under the *Green Iſland*, on the oppoſite ſhore of *Nova Scotia*, where is plenty of all ſorts of proviſions, and

Moulin Baude ſome *French* habitations; and that on the North ſhore, at *Moulin Baude*, ſo called from a rivulet of freſh water, which iſſues from a rock, and is capable of turning a mill, but the country about this latter is ſaid to have the moſt frightful appearance, and to be utterly uninhabitable, for men or beaſts, nor is any living creature to be ſeen.

Iſle Rouge. From *Tadouſſac* you come to the paſſage of *Iſle Rouge*, which is very difficult. In order to do this with ſucceſs, you muſt firſt ſteer full on this iſle, in order to clear the point called *Aux Allouettes*, or *Larks Point*, which is at the entry of the *Saguenay* on the left, and advances a good way into the river, and afterwards you turn quite ſhort; the South paſſage is much the ſafeſt, The *Iſle Rouge*, or *Red Iſland*, is no more than a rock of this colour, lying level with the water's edge, and has been the occaſion of ſeveral ſhipwrecks.

Iſle aux Coudres. At the diſtance of eighteen leagues above *Tadouſſac*, and the ſame diſtance below *Quebec*, is the *Iſle aux Coudres*, the paſſage of which is on the left, and very dangerous when the wind is in the leaſt unfavourable; it is extremely rapid, narrow, and a good quarter of a league in breadth. Before 1663, it was much eaſier, but ſince that an earthquake tore up a mountain by the roots, and threw it upon the *Iſle aux Coudres*, which made it more than one half bigger, and in the place where the mountain ſtood there appeared a lake, which is now called the *Whirlpool*, and not to be approached without danger. It is alſo practicable to take the South paſſage of the *Iſle aux Coudres*, which bears the name of M. *Iberville*, who firſt attempted it with ſucceſs, and is both eaſy and without any danger, but the general cuſtom is to take the North channel.

St *Paul* Bay. Higher up appears the Bay of St *Paul*, where begin the habitations on the North ſide of the river: Here are alſo foreſts of pine-trees, which are much eſteemed, eſpecially the red-pine, which is very beautiful and never breaks. The members of the ſeminary of *Quebec* are the proprietors of this Bay, where they have lately diſcovered an exceeding good lead mine.

Six leagues farther is a promontory of a prodigious height, which terminates a chain of mountains running more than four hundred leagues to the Weſtward; this is called

Cap *Tourment* Cap *Tourment*, or *Stormy Cape*. The anchorage is exceeding good here, ſince the number of iſlands of all ſizes which ſurround it, make it a place of very good ſhelter. The

Iſle of *Orleans.* moſt conſiderable of theſe, is the Iſle of *Orleans*, the fields of which are extremely well cultivated, and as they riſe in the ſhape of an amphitheatre, preſent the eye with a moſt pleaſing proſpect. This iſland is about fourteen leagues round, and was in 1676, erected into an earldom, under the name and title of St *Laurent*, in favour of *Francois Berthelot*, ſecretary general to the artillery, who bought it of *Francois de Laval*, firſt Biſhop of *Quebec*. It had in 1720, four villages, and they now reckon in it ſix very populous pariſhes. Of the two channels which this iſland forms, the South is only navigable for ſhips, for even ſloops cannot paſs by the North channel except at high water. Thus from Cape *Tourment*, you muſt traverſe the river to go to *Quebec*, and this way has its difficulties. There are moving ſands in the way, which often want water for the largeſt ſhips, ſo that they dare not engage with them till the tide begins to flow. This embarraſſment might be ſhunned by taking the paſs of M. *Iberville*. Cape *Tourmente*, whence they take their departure to make this traverſe, is at a hundred and ten leagues

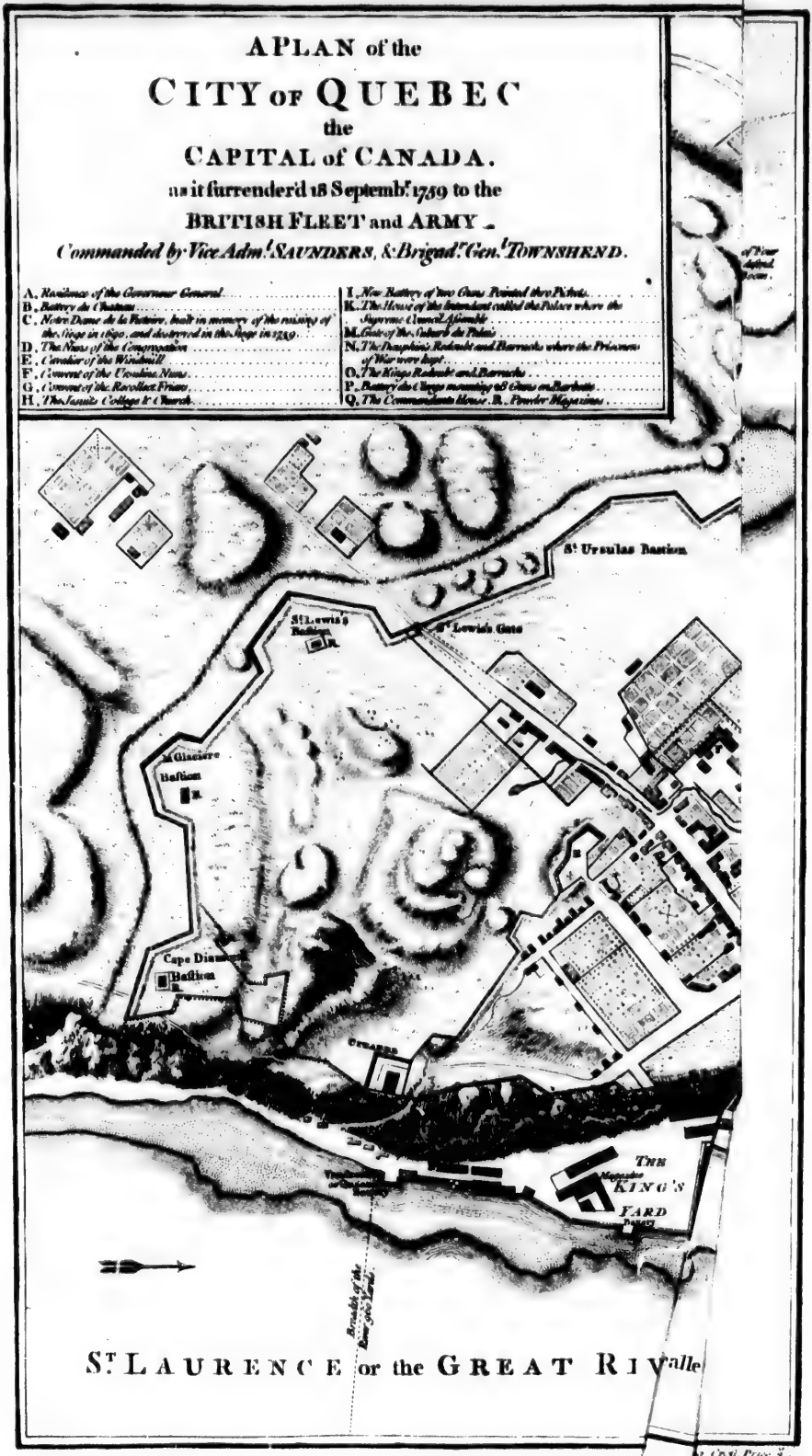
diſtance

A PLAN of the CITY of QUEBEC the CAPITAL of CANADA.

as it surrender'd 18 Septemb.r 1759 to the BRITISH FLEET and ARMY

Commanded by Vice Adm.l SAUNDERS, & Brigad.r Gen.l TOWNSHEND.

A. Residence of the Governour General
B. Battery de Chatteau
C. Notre Dame de la Victoire, built in memory of the raising of the Siege in 1690, and destroyed in the Siege in 1759
D. The Nuns of the Congregation
E. Cavalier of the Windmill
F. Convent of the Ursuline Nuns
G. Convent of the Recollet Friars
H. The Jesuits College & Church
I. New Battery of two Guns Pointed thro Pickets
K. The House of the Intendant called the Palace where the Supreme Council Assemble
M. Gate of the Suburb de Palais
N. The Dauphins Redoubt and Barracks where the Prisoners of War were kept
O. The Kings Redoubt and Barracks
P. Battery de Canon mounting 18 Guns en Barbette
Q. The Commandants House. R. Powder Magazines



diſtance from the ſe[illegible]nd the water of the river ſtill continues brackiſh, and does not begin to be fit for d[illegible]ng till the entrance of the two paſſages, or channels, of the Iſle of *Orleans*; a phenomenon difficult enough to be ſolved, on account of the great rapidity of the river, even after making conſiderable allowances for the width of it.

The tides here flow regularly five hours, and ebb ſeven. At *Tadouſac* they ebb and flow ſix hours alternately; and the reflux increaſes and the flux diminiſhes in proportion as you go higher up the river. Twenty leagues above *Quebec* the flux is of three hours continuance, and the reflux nine; higher up the tides are not perceivable. When it is half tide, or half high water, in the port of *Tadouſſac*, and in the entrance of the river *Saguenay*, it is only flood, that is to ſay, the tide only begins to flow at *Checoutimi*, five and twenty leagues higher up the ſame river; and yet it is high water in three different places at the ſame time. The cauſe of this no doubt is, that the rapidity of the *Saguenay*, which is ſtill greater than that of the river St *Lawrence*, repelling the tide, cauſes an equilibrium, or counterpoiſe, between *Checoutimi*, and the opening of this river into that of St *Lawrence*. Further this rapidity has been at ſo great a height only ſince the great earthquake of 1663. This earthquake overturned a mountain into the river, whoſe bed it ſtraitned, and formed the peninſula of *Checoutimi*, above which is the *rapide*, a name the *French* give to a ſtrong current, or violent ſtream, which even canoes are hardly able to ſtem. The depth of the *Saguenay*, from its mouth upwards as high as *Checoutimi*, is equal to the violence of the ſtream. Thus no ſhip could come to an anchor here, had they not the advantage of mooring or making faſt by means of the trees, which cover the banks of this river. Tides.

It has alſo been obſerved that in the gulf of St *Lawrence*, about eight or ten leagues from the ſhore, the tides vary according to the different poſition of the lands, and the change of the ſeaſons: That in ſome parts they follow the winds, whilſt in others they go quite oppoſite to them; and that in the mouth of the river, at certain months of the year, the currents ſet directly ſeaward, and in others directly towards the land; within the river, as high as the Seven Iſlands, ſixty leagues above its mouth upwards, it never flows on the South nor ebbs on the North ſide. It is no very eaſy matter to account for this ſeemingly inconſiſtent appearance; the moſt probable ſolution is by ſuppoſing certain motions under water, or currents, which go and come alternately from the ſurface to the bottom, and the contrary, like the working of a pump, and which produce thoſe irregularities. In the gulf

Another ſingularity is the variation of the compaſs, which, in ſome ports of *France*, is from two to three degrees North Weſt, diminiſhing ſtill as you approach the parallel of the *Azores* iſlands, where it ceaſes to be perceptible; but beyond this it increaſes after ſuch a rate, that it amounts to twenty two degrees and more on the great bank of *Newfoundland*, and afterwards decreaſes, tho' ſlowly, till at *Quebec* it is reduced to ſixteen, and to twelve in the country of the *Hurons*, where the ſun ſets thirty three minutes later than at *Quebec*. Variation of the compaſs.

The iſle of *Orleans*, is a very beautiful ſpot of ground, the ſoil fertile, and the inhabitants generally in very good circumſtances. When *Jacques Cartier* firſt diſcovered this iſland, he found it covered with wild vines, whence he gave it the name of the *Iſle of Bacchus*. But ſince this navigator, who was a native of *Bretagne*, there arrived a colony from *Normandy*, who grubbed up the vines, and turned the ground into tillage, ſo that it now produces good wheat, and excellent fruits. Some time ſince they began to cultivate tobacco, and with tolerably good ſucceſs. Three miles from this iſland ſtands *Quebec*, the capital city of all *Canada*. Iſle of *Orleans*.

Deſcription of QUEBEC. *

QUEBEC, ſo called from a word in the *Algonkin* tongue, ſignifying a ſtrait. The river St *Lawrence*, which is generally from four to five leagues in breadth all the way, from its mouth to the ſpot on which this city ſtands, that is, for about a hundred and ſeventy leagues from the ſea, grows narrow all at once, ſo that at *Quebec* City of *Quebec*.

C it

* EXPLANATION *of the* PLAN.

A. Reſidence of the Governor-general.
B. Battery of the Fort of twenty-five Guns.
C. *Notre Dame de la Victoire*, the Pariſh Church of the Lower Town, built in Memory of the raiſing of the Siege in 1690.
D. The Nuns of the Congregation.
E. Cavalier of the Wind-mill.
F. Urſuline Convent.
G. Recollet Convent.
H. The Jeſuits College and Church.
K. The Houſe of the Intendant, called the *Palace*, where the Supreme Council of *Canada* aſſembles.

A PLAN of the CITY of QUEBEC the CAPITAL of CANADA.

as it surrender'd 18 Septemb.r 1759 to the BRITISH FLEET and ARMY

Commanded by Vice Adm.l SAUNDERS, & Brigad.r Gen.l TOWNSHEND.

A. *Residence of the Governour General*
B. *Battery du Chateau*
C. *Notre Dame de la Victoire, built in memory of the raising of the Siege in 1690. and destroyed in the Siege in 1759*
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F. *Convent of the Ursaline Nuns*
G. *Convent of the Recollet Friars*
H. *The Jesuits College & Church*
I. *New Battery of two Guns Pointed thro Pickets*
K. *The House of the Intendant called the Palace where the Supreme Council Assembles*
M. *Gate of the Suburb du Palais*
N. *The Dauphins Redoubt and Barracks where the Prisoners of War were kept*
O. *The Kings Redoubt and Barracks*
P. *Battery du Corps mounting 28 Guns en Barbette*
Q. *The Commandants House. R. Powder Magazines*

Timber Yard
Magazine
Commissaries House
The Old Block Yard
St Johns Bastion
St Johns Gate
St Ursulas Bastion
St Lewis's Bastion
St Lewis's Gate
The Jesuits Wood
La Glaciere Bastion
Cape Diamond Bastion
The Cathedral
Seminary
Place of Arms
FORT St LEWIS
The Bishops Palace
Ouarres
THE KING'S YARD
Landing

St LAURENCE or the GREAT RIVER called by the *INDIANS* HOSHEL

ANS HOSHELAGA or CANADA RIVER

Published according to act of Parliament Jan.ry 15 1765 by Thos. Jefferys at Charing cross.

it is not above a mile over. The *Abenaqui's*, a ſavage nation, whoſe language is a dialect of the *Algonkin*, call it *Quebec*, that is to ſay, concealed, or hidden, becauſe as you come from the little river *Chaudiere*, the common paſſage of the ſavages from *Nova Scotia*, in their way to this city, the point of *Levi*, which ſetts out beyond the Iſle of *Orleans*, entirely hides the ſouth channel of the river St *Lawrence*, as the Iſle of *Orleans* does that of the north, and you can only ſee the port, which viewed from this point appears like a large baſon.

Fine caſcade

The firſt object that preſents itſelf, as you enter the road, is a noble caſcade, or ſheet of water, thirty toot in breadth, and forty high, falling juſt by the entry of the leſſer channel of the Iſle of *Orleans*, and firſt ſeen from that long point, on the ſouth ſide of the river, which, as I have obſerved, ſeems joined to the Iſle of *Orleans*. This beautiful piece of water is called the Fall of *Montmorenci*, from an admiral of that name, who with his nephew the Duke *de Ventadour*, were ſucceſſively viceroys of this colony.

This city ſtands a league higher up, and on the ſame ſide of the river, exactly in the narroweſt part of it. Between this and the Iſle of *Orleans* is a baſon a full league over

Harbour of *Quebec*.

every way, that is to ſay, a freſh water harbour, upon the nobleſt and moſt navigable river in the univerſe, capable of containing a hundred ſhips of war. The North Weſt ſide of the city is waſhed by the river St *Charles*, between which and *Cape Diamond*, *Quebec* is ſituated. Cloſe to this Cape is the anchoring place, in twenty five fathom water, good ground, though when the wind blows hard at north eaſt, ſhips are apt to drive, but without danger.

When *Samuel Champlain* founded this city in 1608, the tide ſometimes flowed to the foot of the rock. Since that time, the river has by degrees retreated, and left dry a large ſpace of ground, on which the lower town is built, and at preſent, ſufficiently elevated above the water mark, to ſecure it from any fears of an inundation. The firſt

City deſcribed

thing you meet at landing is an open place, of a moderate compaſs, and irregular form, with a row of houſes in front, tolerably well built, and joined to the rock behind, ſo that they have 20 feet depth backwards. Theſe form a pretty long ſtreet, which takes up all the breadth of the ground, and extends from right to left to two paſſages, which lead to the high town. This opening is bounded on the left by a ſmall church, and on the right by two rows of houſes, running parallel to each other. There is alſo another range of buildings between the church and the port; and along the ſhore, as you go to *Cape Diamond*, there is a pretty long row of houſes on the edge of the bay,

Bay of *Mothers*.

called the Bay of *Mothers*. This quarter may be looked upon as a kind of ſuburb to the Lower Town.

Between this ſuburb and the great ſtreet, you go up to the high town, by a paſſage ſo ſteep, that they have been obliged to cut ſteps in the rock, ſo that it is only paſſable to perſons on foot. But as you go from the opening or place on the right, there is another way of a much gentler aſcent, with houſes on each ſide. In the place where theſe two paſſages meet, begins the high town towards the river, for there is alſo another lower town towards the river St *Charles*. The firſt building worthy of notice as you aſcend from the former on the right, is the epiſcopal palace; the left is taken up with private houſes. About twenty paces beyond this, you find yourſelf between

Principal Buildings.

two large ſquares; that on the left, is the place of arms, adjoining to which is the fort, the reſidence of the governor general; oppoſite to this, is the convent of Recollets, and part of the ſquare is taken up with well built houſes. In this ſquare, on the right, ſtands the cathedral church, which is alſo the only pariſh church in the place. The Seminary lies on one ſide, in a corner, formed by the great river, and the river St *Charles*. Oppoſite the cathedral is the Jeſuits college, and in the ſquare between, handſome buildings. From the place of arms run two ſtreets, croſſed by a third, which form a large ſquare or iſle, entirely taken up by the church and convent of the Recollets. The ſecond ſquare has two deſcents to the river St *Charles*; one very ſteep, adjoining to the ſeminary, with but few houſes; the other near the Jeſuits encloſure, which winds very much, has the hoſpital on one ſide about mid-way, and is bordered with ſmall houſes. This goes to the palace, the reſidence of the intendant of the province. On the other ſide the Jeſuits college near their church, is a pretty long ſtreet, in which is the convent of Urſuline-Nuns. It may be remarked alſo, that the high town is built on a foundation of rock, partly marble, and partly ſlate.

Number of inhabitants.

This city has a pretty large extent, almoſt all the houſes are built of ſtone, and it contained in 1720, about ſeven thouſand ſouls; and in 1753, the number was computed

ted to be 15,000 inhabitants, and 500 soldiers. The church of the lower town was built in consequence of a vow made during the siege of *Quebec* in 1690. It is consecrated under the name of *Our Lady of Victory*, and serves as a chapel of ease to the inhabitants of the lower town. The building is plain, its chief ornament being its neatness and simplicity. Some sisters of the congregation are settled between this church and the port; their number is four or five, and they keep a school. Church of Lady of Victory.

The bishop's palace has nothing finished but the chapel, and part of the building designed by the plan, which is a long quadrangle; when finished, it will be a fine structure. The garden extends to the brow of the hill, and commands the road, and has a noble and most delightful prospect. Below appears a noble bason, filled with squadrons of ships of the largest size from *Europe*. Opposite to it, the Isle of *Orleans*, and the banks of the rivers St *Laurence* and St *Charles*, on both sides, exhibiting a most enchanting medley of forests, rivers, hills, valleys, meadows, and corn lands, so that scarce any where is to be seen a terras more magnificently situated. It is almost inconceivable what a striking sight there must be from this promontory, were the country about it peopled as it possibly might be, and certainly on many accounts deserves. Bishop's palace. Beautiful prospect.

The cathedral, so far from worthy of being the metropolitan church of so large a province, whether you look upon the exterior or internal part of the structure, is scarce superior to a country church in *Europe*. It has a very high tower, built in a very solid manner, and which at a distance makes no ill appearance. The seminary which joins the church is a large square, and what part of it is yet finished, is in good taste, and has all the conveniencies proper for the climate. It was twice burnt to the ground, first in 1703, and again in *October* 1705, as it was just rebuilt, since which it has been erected a third time. From the garden you see the road, and the river St *Charles* as far as the sight can extend. Cathedral. Seminary.

The fort is a handsome building with two wings. You enter by a spacious and regular court, but there is no garden, because it is built on the edge of the rock. This defect is supplied in some measure by a fine gallery, with a balcony or balustrade, which surrounds the building. It commands the road, from the middle of which a speaking trumpet may be heard, and you see all the lower town under your feet. Leaving the fort, as you go towards the left, you cross a pretty large esplanade, and by an easy descent you reach the summit of *Cape Diamond*, which forms a most delightful terras. Besides the beauty of the prospect, you breath the purest air imaginable, and may see numbers of porpoises, white as snow, playing on the surface of the water. On this Cape also are found a kind of diamonds, finer than those of *Alençon*; and, what is singular enough, some of them cut by nature every bit as well as if done by the ablest artist. The great quantity of these stones found here in former times is what gave name to this Cape: At present they are very scarce. The descent towards the country is yet more easy than that on the other side of the esplanade. Fort. *Cape Diamond*

The Fathers Recollets have a large and fine church, capable of doing them honour even at *Versailles*. It is neatly wainscotted, and adorned with a large gallery, somewhat heavy, but the work round it, which is of wood, and is the workmanship of a lay-brother, is very well done. Another brother called Father *Luke* has adorned it with paintings, much esteemed by the connoisseurs who travel this way. The convent is answerable to the church, large, solid, and commodious, with a spacious garden, kept in good order. Church and convent of Recollets.

The convent of the *Ursuline* Nuns has suffered twice by fire, like the seminary. Their revenue is besides so small, and the portions they receive with the young *Canadian* ladies, so inconsiderable, that the first time their house was burnt, they were upon the point of being sent back to *France*; they have, however, found means to recover themselves each time, and their church is actually finished. They are all lodged in a neat and commodious manner, the just reward of the character they bear in the colony, as well as their frugality, temperance, and industry, in useful works of a good taste proper for the sex, such as guilding, and embroidering, which are their usual employments. Convent of Ursuline Nuns.

The college of the Jesuits, which has been talked of as a very fine piece of architecture, and possibly was thought it with some grounds, when *Quebec* was no more than an assemblage of barracks and huts of savages, since the city wore so different a face, was become rather a toil than an ornament to it, and threatned to tumble down every day. It is now rebuilt with great magnificence, and justly merits the character it so long bore. The garden is large and well kept, and terminated by a small wood, the College and church of the Jesuits.

remains of that ancient foreſt, which once covered the whole mountain. The church has nothing beautiful without, but a handſome ſteeple: It is covered with ſlate, in which it has the advantage of all the churches in *Canada*, which are only roofed with planks. The inſide of it is highly ornamented, the gallery is light and bold, and has a baluſtrade of iron gilt, of good workmanſhip. The pulpit is all gilt, and the wood and iron work exquiſite. There are three altars well placed, ſome good pictures, the roof not arched, but its flat ceiling agreeably ornamented. The floor is of wood and not ſtone, which makes this the only church where one is tolerably warm in all *Quebec*.

The Hotel-dieu.

The Hotel-dieu, or hoſpital, has too great halls, appropriated to the different ſexes. The beds are clean, the ſick carefully attended, and every thing neat and commodious. The church adjoins to the womens apartment, and has nothing remarkable but the paintings of the great altar, which are very fine. The houſe is ſerved by the Nuns hoſpitalers of St *Auguſtine*, and of the congregation of the mercy of *Jeſus*, the firſt of whom came here from *Dieppe*. Their apartments are convenient, and as their houſes are ſituated on the declivity of the hill, on an eminence which commands the river St *Charles*, they enjoy a tolerable good proſpect.

The Palace.

The houſe of the intendant is called the palace, becauſe the ſupreme council aſſemble here. It is a large building to which you aſcend by a double flight of ſteps. The front to the garden, which has a proſpect to the river St *Charles*, is much more agreeable than that you enter at. The king's magazines form the right ſide of the court, and the priſon lies behind them. The gate you enter at is hid by the mountain, on which ſtands the high town, and which, on this ſide, only preſents the eye with a ſteep and unpleaſing rock. It was conſiderably worſe before the fire, which reduced it to aſhes in 1726, for then it had no court, and the building adjoined to the ſtreet, which is here very narrow.

The general Hoſpital.

Following this ſtreet, or, to ſpeak more properly, this road, you enter the country, and about a quarter of a league diſtant you find the general hoſpital. This is not only the fineſt building in all *Canada*, but would even do honour to any city in *Europe*. The *Recollets* were formerly in poſſeſſion of this ſpot of ground; St *Valier*, Biſhop of *Quebec*, bought it of them, removed them into the city, and laid out an hundred thouſand crowns in the building, furniture, and endowment. The only fault of this edifice is its marſhy ſituation, which they had ſome thoughts of amending by means of drains cut towards the river *St Charles*; a remedy, which thoſe who have been on the ſpot believe to be exceeding difficult, if not impracticable. This noble ſtructure is for the reception and relief of ſuch artiſans, handicraftſmen, or others, whoſe great age or infirmities may have rendered them incapable of getting their living, and ſuch are always admitted, as far as the foundation will admit. This foundation is a colony from the *Hotel Dieu* at *Quebec*, and the perſons admitted here wear a ſilver croſs on their breaſt, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the old foundation. Thirty nuns, who are generally of good families, attend the ſervice of this hoſpital, but as they are often poor, the biſhop their founder has given portions to ſeveral of them.

Fortifications.

Quebec is not regularly fortified, but they have been long at work to render it capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege. Its ſituation renders it naturally ſtrong, and it would be no eaſy matter to reduce it in its preſent condition. The port is flanked by two baſtions, which, at the high tides of the equinoxes, are almoſt even with the water. A little higher, over the baſtion towards the right, is a half-baſtion, cut out of the rock; and above that nearer the fort, is a battery of twenty-five pieces of cannon. Higher ſtill is a ſquare fort, called the Citadel; the ways that communicate between theſe forts are extremely rugged. To the left of the port, quite along the road, as far as the river *St Charles*, are ſtrong batteries of cannon and mortars. On the angle of the citadel, facing the city, they have built what the engineers call an *Oreille de Baſtion*, from whence they have drawn a ſloping curtain, which joins to a very high cavalier, on which there is a windmil fortified. As you come down from this cavalier, you find, within muſket-ſhot, a tower fortified with a baſtion, and, at an equal diſtance, a ſecond. The deſign was to cover all this part with a counterſcarp, having the ſame angles as the baſtions, and ending at the extremity of the rock, near the Intendant's palace, where there is already a ſmall redoubt, as there is another on Cape *Diamond*. This deſign has not, it ſeems, been carried into execution, though for what reaſon is hard to ſay.

The

The number of inhabitants being conſiderably increaſed, they paſs their time very agreeably. The Governor-general, with his houſhold; ſeveral of the nobleſſe, of exceeding good families; the officers of the army, who in *France* are all gentlemen; the Intendant, with a ſupreme council, and the inferior magiſtrates; the Commiſſary of the marine; the Grand Provoſt; the Grand Hunter; the Grand Maſter of the waters and foreſts, who has the moſt extenſive juriſdiction in the world; rich merchants, or ſuch as live as if they were ſo; the Biſhop, and a numerous ſeminary; two colleges of Recollets; as many of Jeſuits; with three Nunneries; amongſt all theſe you are at no loſs to find agreeable company, and the moſt entertaining converſation. Add to this the diverſions of the place; ſuch as the aſſemblies at the Lady Governeſs's and Lady Intendant's; parties at cards, or of pleaſure, ſuch as, in the winter on the ice, in ſledges, or in ſkaiting; and in the ſummer in chaiſes or canoes; alſo hunting, which it is impoſſible not to be fond of, in a country abounding with plenty of game of all kinds. Entertainments and diverſions.

It is remarked of the *Canadians*, that their converſation is enlivened by an air of freedom, which is natural and peculiar to them; and that they ſpeak the *French* in the greateſt purity, and without the leaſt falſe accent. There are few rich people in that colony, though they all live well, are extremely generous and hoſpitable, keep very good tables, and love to dreſs very finely. They are reckoned well made, and to have an exceeding fine complexion, witty in their converſation, polite in their behaviour, and moſt obliging in their manners. The *Canadians* have carried the love of arms and of glory, ſo natural to their mother-country, along with them, for which reaſon, they have little of the narrow ſelfiſh ſpirit of the merchant in them; and, as they never entertain any thought of amaſſing, they have therefore little to loſe; ſo that war is not only welcome to them, but coveted with extreme ardor. It is eaſy to imagine the conſequence of ſuch neighbours to the *Britiſh* colonies, immerſed in luxury, and a prey to all the paſſions which accompany eaſe and riches, were the *Canadians* headed by ſuch generals as *France* has formerly had, with an ambitious and wiſe prince on the throne. *Great Britain* therefore cannot be too watchful and expeditious to prevent the danger, whilſt her precautions are of any moment or avail to her. Character of the *Canadians*.

Three leagues from *Quebec* is the *Loretto* of *North America*, a village of the *Hurons*, in which is a chapel, built after the model of the *Santa Caſa*, in the city of that name in *Italy*, decorated with an image of the Virgin *Mary*, taken from the ſtatue in the Holy City. This ſeat of the devotion of the *Canadians* is ſituated in the moſt frightful wilderneſs imaginable, and famous for the reſort of the devotees of thoſe parts, who, whether through fancy or religion, are ſaid to be ſeized with a certain ſacred horror, which is not to be reſiſted, as alſo for the piety of the inhabitants. This village was formerly very populous, but diſeaſes, or ſome other unknown cauſe, which has almoſt annihilated all the ſavage nations of *North America*, have very much reduced the number of its inhabitants. *American Loretto.*

Seven leagues from the capital is the *Point aux Trembles*. This is one of the better ſort of pariſhes in this country. The church is large, and well built, and the inhabitants live very comfortably. In general, the old ſettlers here are richer than the lords of the manors; the reaſon of which is, that theſe latter being incapable of improving their eſtates themſelves, as being heads of communities, officers, or gentlemen, who wanted the neceſſary funds for ſuch an undertaking, were obliged to let them out to other ſettlers at a very ſmall quit-rent, ſo that the revenue of a lord, who has an eſtate of two leagues in front, and an unlimited depth, is very inconſiderable. *Point aux Trembles.*

After travelling ſeventeen leagues farther, you come to the habitation of a *French* gentleman in *New England*, ſituated on the river *Beçancourt*, formerly *Riviere Puante*, or the *Stinking River*, ſo called from the defeat or total extermination of the *Iroquet* nation, anciently called *Onnoncharonnons*, by the *Algonkins*, which happened in this river, the waters of which were infected by the great number of the dead bodies of thoſe who fell on this occaſion. *Beçancourt*, which is a village of the *Abenaquis*, is far from being ſo populous as it has been ſome years. Theſe *Indians* are reckoned the beſt *French* partiſans in the whole country, and were always very forward in making inroads into the inland parts of *New England*, where the terror of their name has ſometimes given alarms to *Boſton* itſelf. They were equally ſerviceable to the *French* againſt the *Iroquois*, being not inferior in courage to thoſe ſavages, and far beyond them in point of diſcipline. They are all Chriſtians, and were remarkably devout when River and village of *Beçancourt.*

newly converted; but the enchantment of brandy, which they never drink but with a deſign to get drunk, has not only, ſay the miſſionaries, abated the fervour of their piety, but made them draw nearer to the *Engliſh* ſettlements, amongſt whom the deformity of this vice has no ſuch effects. Eight leagues farther is the town called

TROIS RIVIERES, or THREE RIVERS,

in the moſt charming ſituation that can be imagined. It is built on a ſandy declivity, but the whole extent of barren ground is no more than that which will be juſt ſufficient to contain the place when it grows tolerably large, which is not its caſe at preſent. Excepting this ſingle diſadvantage, it is ſurrounded with every thing that can render a city delightful and opulent. A river half a league in breadth runs cloſe under it, beyond that you have the proſpect of a moſt beautiful country, the fields of which are extremely fertile, well cultivated, and crowned with the nobleſt forreſts in the univerſe. A little below, and on the ſame ſide of the city, the river St *Lawrence* receives into it a very fine river, divided into three branches, from whence it takes the name of *Trois Rivieres*.

Deſcription of the town.

The city or town of *Trois Rivieres*, contains but about ſeven or eight hundred perſons, and has ſome mines in its neighbourhood, which are capable of enriching it whenever they ſhall think fit to work them. The ſituation is what renders it of great importance, and it is one of the nobleſt eſtabliſhments in the colony. It has conſtantly been the ſeat of a governor from the firſt planting of *Canada*, who has a thouſand crowns ſalary for himſelf, beſides his houſhold. Here is alſo a convent of Recollets, a handſome church, where theſe fathers officiate, and a very fine hoſpital adjoining to the convent of the *Urſuline* Nuns, in number of forty, whoſe office it is to attend it. This is another foundation of *de St Valier*, Biſhop of *Quebec*, as early as the year 1650. The ſenechal, or lord ſteward, of *New France*, whoſe juriſdiction has ſince been abſorbed by the ſuperior council and intendant of *Quebec*, had formerly a lieutenant at the *Three Rivers*. At preſent this city has a court of juſticiary in ordinary, the preſident of which is a lieutenant general of the king's forces. This city was anciently, that is, in the firſt beginning of the colony, greatly reſorted to for the ſake of trade by different *Indian* nations, and particularly the moſt northern, who uſed to come down by the *Three Rivers*. The conveniency of the place, joined to its great trade, was what determined ſeveral *French* to ſettle here, and the nearneſs of *Richelieu* River, then called *Iroquois* River, induced the governor general to build a fort, in which he placed a ſtrong garriſon. This poſt was regarded in thoſe days as one of the moſt important in all *Canada*. But ſome time after, the *Indians* growing weary of the continual vexation of the *Iroquois*, from whoſe ravages the *French* themſelves were hardly ſafe, all the paſſages being ſhut up by that nation, who conſtantly lay in ambuſh about them, ſo that the *Canadian Indians* could hardly think themſelves ſecure under the cannon of the fort, left off bringing their furs. The Jeſuits, with their proſelytes, retired to Cape *Magdalen*, three leagues below; but, whether by the inconſtancy natural to thoſe *Indians*, or through a long ſeries of wars and diſeaſes, which have almoſt deſtroyed this infant church, this miſſion was of no long duration. There is, however, ſtill here a troop of *Algonquins*, baptized in their infancy, but who have nothing more of Chriſtianity about them.

Lake *St Peter*

Two leagues from *Trois Rivieres* begins lake St *Peter*, about three leagues broad, and five long, ſo that the ſight has nothing to confine it on that ſide, where the beams of the ſetting ſun ſeem to ſink into the water. This lake, which is nothing but the widening of the river St *Lawrence*, receives into it ſeveral other rivers that by continual encroachments on the low lands near their mouths help to form this lake, which no where is ſo deep as the river St *Lawrence*, but in the middle, the other parts being navigable only for canoes, and that with ſome difficulty. To make amends for this defect, it is full of ſeveral ſorts of the moſt excellent fiſh.

Richelieu Iſles

Croſs Lake *St Peter*, on the *New England* ſhore, lies the canton of *St Francis*. At the Weſtern extremity of the ſame lake appears a prodigious multitude of iſlands, called *Richelieu Iſlands*; and on the left, as you come from *Quebec*, ſix others on the coaſt of a bay, into which diſcharges itſelf a very fine river, that takes its riſe in the neighbourhood of *New York*. The iſlands, the river, and all the country which it waters, bear the name of *St Francis*. Each of theſe iſlands is a good quarter of a league long,

long, but their breadth is various; those of *Richelieu* are the largest. All of them formerly abounded in deer of several sorts, goats, and otters; great quantities of game, and a vast profusion of fish, both in the river and in the lake near it.

The soil of this canton, if one may judge of it by the trees it bears, and by the little already cultivated, is exceeding good. The inhabitants, however, are far from being rich, and would be reduced to the last degree of indigence, were they not supported in some measure by the trade they carry on with the neighbouring *Indians*.

These are the *Abenaquis*, and amongst them some *Algonkins*, *Sokokies*, and *Makingans*, otherwise called *Wolfs*. Their village lies on the banks of the river *St Francis*, about two leagues from its mouth, and in a most delightful situation. The *French* give them the character of being very docile, being all of them Christians, and most affectionate to their nation.

This whole country has been for a long time the theatre of many a bloody scene, as it was the most exposed to the inroads of the enemy, whilst the war with the *Iroquois* lasted. These *Indians* used to come down by the *Iroquois* river that falls into the river St *Lawrence*, a little higher than the lake St *Peter*, on the same side with that of St *Francis*, and for that reason it bore their name; since that the *French* have called it *Sorel*, and now *Richlieu* river. The isles of *Richlieu* served them as fit places to lie in ambush, or for a retreat, but since this way has been shut up by the *French* fort *Sorel*, built at the mouth of the river, they have changed their rout, coming over land above and below it, principally directing their motions to the canton of St *Francis*, where they found the same conveniency of plundering and ravaging the country, and where they have perpetrated the most horrid cruelties.

Iroquois river now *Sorel*, now *Richlieu* river.

Isles of *Richlieu*.

In this manner they over-ran the whole country, which obliged the inhabitants to build a kind of fort in each parish, to serve for a retreat in case of an alarm. In these forts, which were only so many large enclosures, fenced with pallisadoes, with redoubts in proper places, are centinels, who keep watch night and day, and some pieces of small cannon, to give the signal to the inhabitants to be upon their guard, or for assistance in case of an attack. The church and the manor-house were generally in those places of security, the remaining space being to receive the women, children, and cattle. Weak as these fortresses are, they have generally answered the end they were built for, none of them having ever been forced by the *Iroquois*, against whose insults and fury they were intended. These savages have rarely so much as attempted to keep them blockaded, or, if they ever did, as they have no regular method for reducing any place, it has always been without success.

Temporary forts.

The passage between *Montreal* and *Quebec* is about sixty leagues, and affords, the noblest and most delightful prospect imaginable. In the summer you travel by water in canoes, at which season the weather is fine. It is impossible to express the pleasure that arises from the sight of an infinity of pieces of water and channels, formed by almost innumerable islands, and of the banks of the river on both sides, that are covered with large forests, and, like so many theatrical scenes, are varying every moment. In winter, if the pleasure of the prospect is lessened by that universal whiteness which covers all nature, and hides that beautiful variety of colours that makes the country so enchanting in the fine season, you have some amends made you by the conveniency of travelling in sledges, and in the novelty of seeing this noble river become as firm and passable as the Continent. Towards *Quebec* the soil is very good, but the prospect extremely insipid, and, what is an additional disadvantage, the weather is in these parts very severe; for in proportion as you come down the river, as it runs North, the cold still encreases.

Delightful inland voyage.

Quebec stands in 46 degrees, 48 minutes, North latitude; the city of *Trois Rivieres*, in 46 degrees and 24 minutes, and *Montreal* in 45 degrees, 45 minutes. The river makes a turn towards the South a little above Lake St *Peter*, so that you no sooner pass the islands of *Richlieu*, than you seem transported into another climate: The air becomes milder, the land not so wild and rugged, the river much finer, and its banks much more charming and delightful. From time to time you meet with islands, some of them inhabited, others in that naked simplicity of charms in which nature has left them, and all forming the noblest prospects imaginable.

Latitudes of *Quebec*, &c.

MONTREAL; *or* *VILLE MARIE*,

is ſituated on the iſland of *Montreal*, ſix leagues and a half in length from Eaſt to Weſt, and near three leagues over in the broadeſt part. The mountain from which it has its name, and on which the city is built, ſtands at an equal diſtance from both ends, and about half a league from the banks of the river St *Lawrence* on the South ſide of the iſland. The city was called *Ville Marie* by the founders, and that name it ſtill retained in all public acts, and by the lords, or proprietors, who are very jealous in this point. The Superiors of the ſeminary of St *Sulpicius* are not only proprietors of the city, but of the whole iſland. Wherefore as the ſoil here is not only excellent, but all in cultivation, and the city full as populous as *Quebec*, this ſigniory, or lordſhip, may very juſtly be reckoned worth ſix of the beſt in *Canada*, and in general the people are very happy under theſe maſters.

City in general deſcribed.

The city is extremely well built, the ſtreets very well diſpoſed, the ſituation very commodious, and the proſpect exceeding agreeable. The view of the adjacent country is no leſs pleaſing. It had formerly no fortifications, except an enclоſure of a ſingle palliſade with baſtions of the ſame nature, kept in very bad order; and a very poor redoubt, which ſerved for an outwork, joined by a gentle declivity to a ſmall ſquare, and was the firſt object that ſaluted you as you came from *Quebec*. Before, it was quite defenceleſs, and equally expoſed to the inſults of the *Engliſh* and *Indians*, till the Chevalier *de Callieres*, brother to one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of *Ryſwic*, encloſed it in this manner whilſt he was governor. Since his time, it is ſaid to have been walled in, and made capable of ſuſtaining a regular ſiege, but I have ſince learnt, that in 1756 the only appearance of any fortification in this place was a cavalier without a parapet, and about fourteen guns without carriages.

Its fortifications.

A more particular deſcription.

Montreal is an oblong ſquare or quadrangle, and ſtands on the banks of the river St *Lawrence*. It is divided into the High and Low Towns, tho' the aſcent from one to the other is ſcarce perceivable. The hotel-dieu, or hoſpital, the king's magazines, and place of arms, are in the Lower Town, and moſt of the merchants have their houſes in this part. In the higher are the ſeminary, the parochial church, the convents of the Recollets, Jeſuits, and the ſiſters of the congregation, together with the houſes of the governor, and moſt of the officers of the garriſon. Beyond a rivulet, which comes from the North Weſt, and bounds the city on that ſide, is the hoſpital general, with ſeveral private houſes. And on the right, beyond the convent of the Recollets, which is ſituated at the extremity of the city on the ſame ſide, begins a kind of ſuburb, which in time is like to be a very fine quarter.

Churches and convents.

The Jeſuits have but a ſmall convent here; but their church is large and well built. The convent of the Recollets is more ſpacious, and the community more numerous. The ſeminary ſtands in the center of the city; and it appears that thoſe who built it, were more intent on making it ſolid and commodious, than magnificent. You may, however, perceive ſomething about it, which carries an air of dignity worthy of the lord of the manor: It adjoins to the parochial church, which has more of the grandeur of a cathedral, than that of *Quebec*. The noble air of this temple with the ſolemnity and modeſty of the worſhip, inſpire an aweful reſpect for that deity who is the object of it.

New nunnery

The houſe of the daughters of the Congregation, tho' one of the largeſt in the city, is notwithſtanding too ſmall for the community. This is the head of the order, and the noviciate of an inſtitute, which had its birth in *New France*, and is a very noble foundation. The Hotel-Dieu is ſerved by theſe ſiſters, the firſt of whom came from *La Fléche* in *Anjou*. You ſee nothing of their poverty, which is far from being affected, either in their hall, which is large and well furniſhed, or in their church, which is very fine and richly ornamented; or in their houſe, which is well built, neat, and commodious; but they are very indifferently provided for in reſpect to their table, though they are indefatigable both in the education of the youth of their ſex, and in attending the ſick.

Hoſpital General.

The Hoſpital General owes its eſtabliſhment to one *Charron*, who had aſſociated himſelf with ſome perſons remarkable for their piety, not only for promoting this work of charity, but alſo for providing the country pariſhes with ſchool-maſters, who ſhould be to the boys, what the Daughters of the Congregation were, with reſpect to the youth of their own ſex. But this aſſociation ſoon came to nothing, and the Sieur *Charron*

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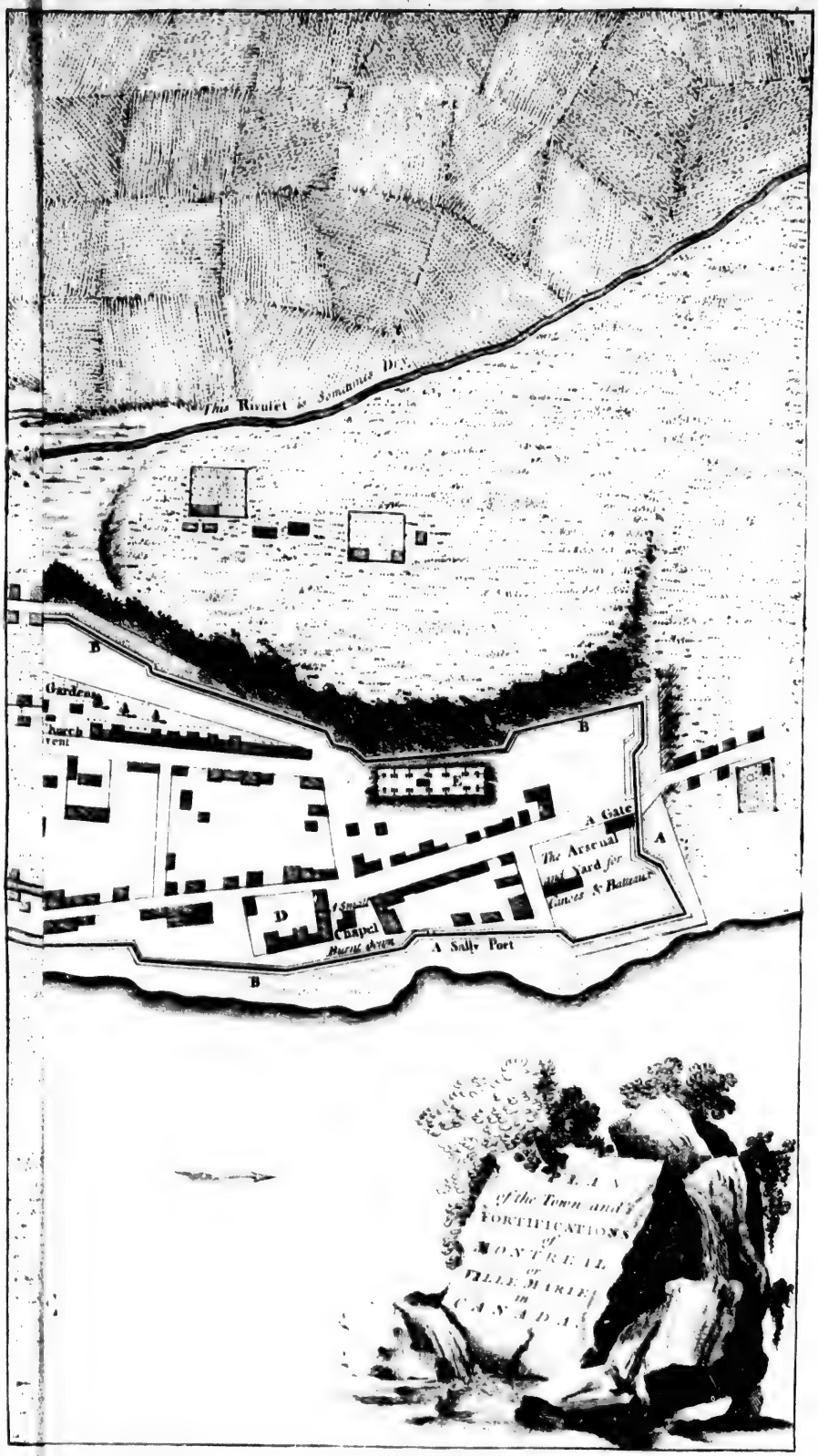

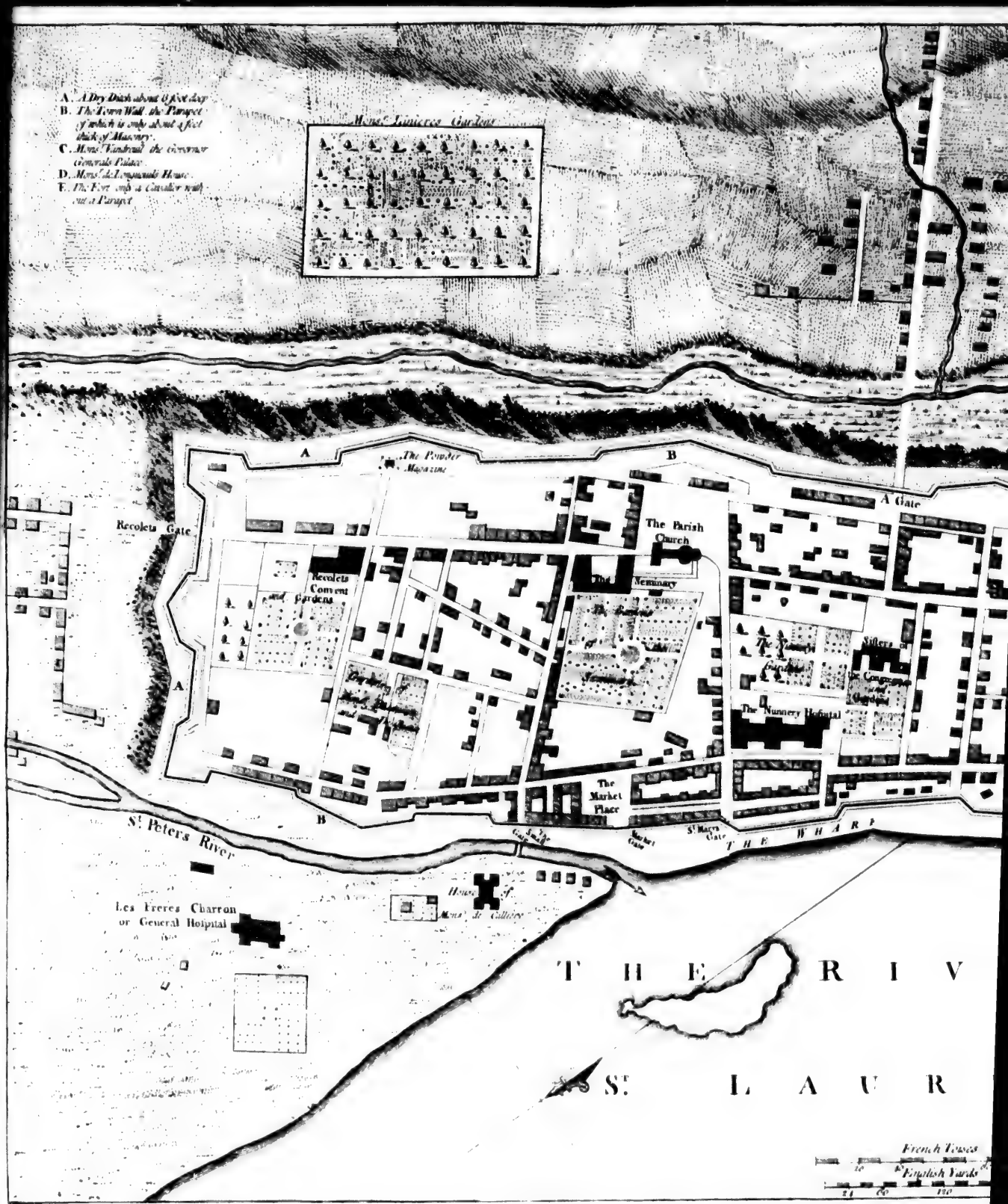
A. A Dry Ditch about 6 feet deep
B. The Town Wall, the Parapet of which is only about 4 feet thick of Masonry.
C. Mons.r Vaudreuil, the Governor Generals Palace
D. Mons.r de Longueuils House
E. The Fort, with a Cavalier with out a Parapet
Mons.r Limieres Garden
A
B
The Powder Magazine
A Gate
Recolets Gate
The Parish Church
Recolets Convent and Gardens
The Nunnery
The Nunnery Hospital
The Market Place
St. Peters River
St. Mary's Gate
THE WHARF
Les Freres Charron or General Hospital
THE RIV
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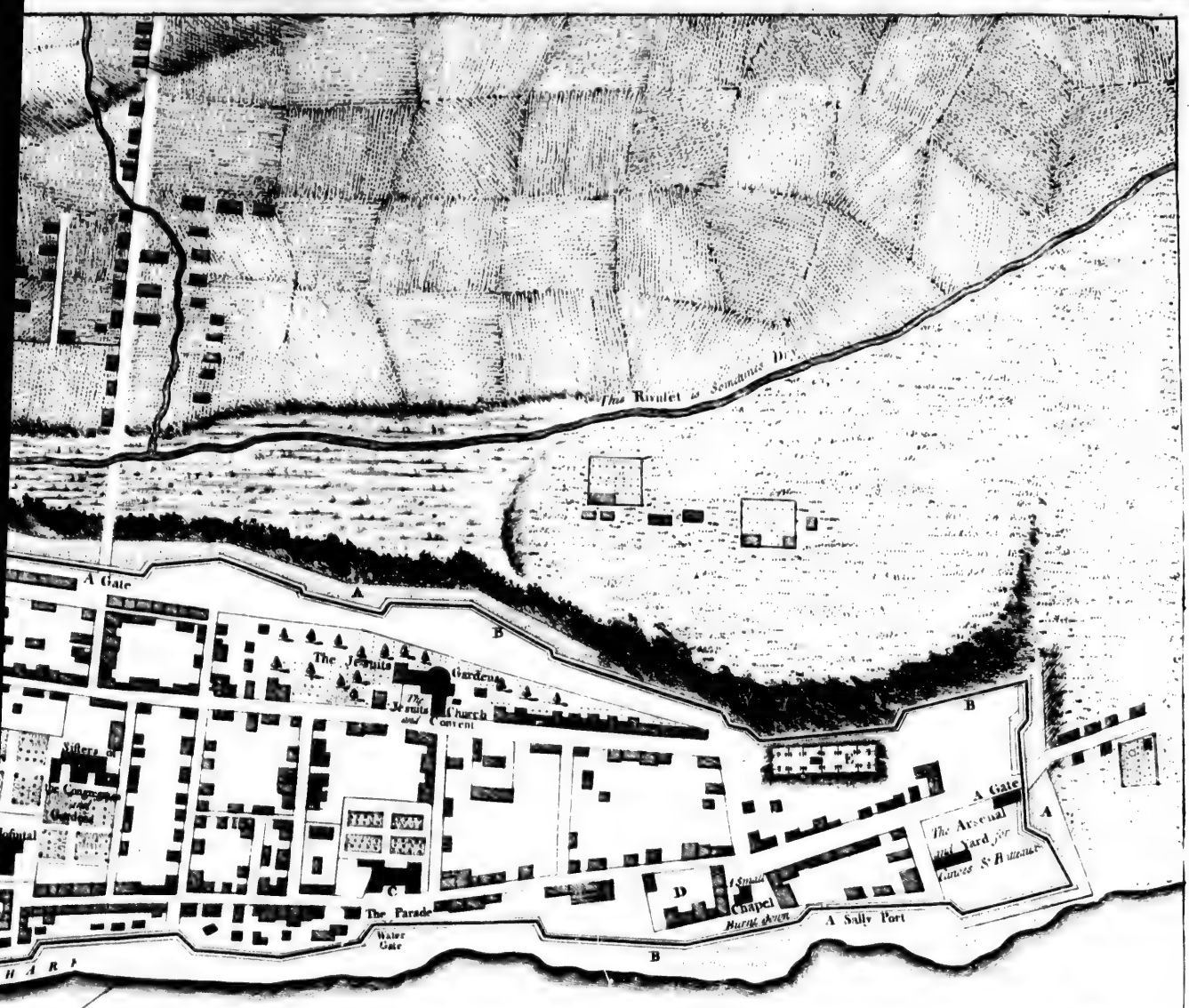
English Yards
Published by Tho.s Jefferys, Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince



R I V E R

A U R E N C E

Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. at Charing Cross, Jan.ry 1758 Price 2.

was left by himſelf. This did not, however, diſcourage him; he expended the remainder of his fortune, and procured the aſſiſtance of ſome powerful perſons, and had the pleaſure, before he died, to ſee his project paſt all danger of miſcarrying, at leaſt with reſpect to the Hoſpital General, which is a very fine building, as is its church, which is no way inferior to it.

The great traffic for furs, after the city of *Trois Rivieres* ceaſed to be frequented by the *Indians* of the North and Weſt, was, for ſome time, carried on at *Montreal*, whither thoſe ſavages reſorted, at certain times, from all parts of *Canada*; ſo that there was kept a fort of fair, which drew multitudes of *French* to this city. The Governor-general and Intendant honoured it with their preſence, and made uſe of this opportunity to compoſe any differences that might happen to ariſe between their allies. The place is ſtill frequented by the *Canadian Indians*, who often come hither in companies, but not by far in ſuch numbers as formerly, the war of the *Iroquois* hindering the great concourſe of thoſe nations. In order to remedy this evil, magazines, with forts, have been erected in moſt parts of the country, with a commandant, and a garriſon, ſtrong enough to ſecure the merchandize. The *Indians* are always fond of a gunſmith, and amongſt ſeveral of them there are miſſionaries. Trade for furs in decay.

In 1688, ſome chiefs of the Five Nations, ſent on an embaſſy to the *French* governor at *Montreal*, were, through his perfidy, intercepted at one of the falls on *Cadaraqui* River by the *Dinondadies*, their enemies. This outrage and indignity againſt the rights of ambaſſadors, animated the confederates to the keeneſt thirſt after revenge; and on the 26th of *July* they landed 1200 of their men on the South ſide of the iſland of *Montreal*, while the *French* were in perfect ſecurity; burnt their houſes, ſacked their plantations, and put to the ſword all the men, women, and children without the ſkirts of the town. One thouſand *French* were ſlain in this invaſion, and twenty-ſix carried off, and burnt alive. Many more were made priſoners in another attack in *October* following, when the lower part of the iſland was wholly deſtroyed. Only three of the confederates were loſt in this ſcene of miſery and deſolation. Never did *Canada* ſuſtain ſuch a heavy blow, the news of which no ſooner reached Fort *Frontenac*, than the garriſon abandoned that fort with ſuch precipitation, that one of the battoes, with the ſoldiers and crew, were all loſt in ſhooting a fall. In this calamity all the *Indians* in alliance with the *French* deſerted them, except the two tribes of the *Nepicirinians* and *Kikabous*; the *Outaouais* and ſeven other nations inſtantly made peace with the *Engliſh*, and, but for the uncommon abilities and addreſs of the Sieur *Perrot*, the Weſtern *Indians* would have murdered every *Frenchman* among them. Nor did the diſtreſſes of the *Canadians* end there: numerous parties from the Five Nations continually infeſted their borders, and the frequent depredations they committed, prevented them from cultivating their fields. At the ſame time, a famine raged throughout all *Canada*; ſo that nothing but the ignorance of the *Indians* in the art of attacking fortified places ſaved this country from being entirely ruined. It was therefore fortunate for the *French*, that the *Indians* had no aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh*, and as unfortunate for us, that our colonies were then incapable of affording ſuccours to the confederates, through the malignant influence of thoſe unnatural meaſures which were purſued under the reign of King *James* II.

Between the iſland of *Montreal* and the continent, on the North ſide, is another iſland, five leagues in length, and full one league over in the broadeſt part. This was at firſt called the Iſland of *Montmagny*, in honour of a Governor-General of *Canada*, but was afterwards given to the Jeſuits, who named it the *Iſle of Jeſus*, which laſt appellation it ſtill keeps, though it has ſince fallen into the hands of the directors of the Seminary of *Quebec*. Iſle of Jeſus.

The channel which ſeparates the two iſlands is called *La Riviere des Prairies*, or, *the River of the Meadows*, from the fine meadows which lie on both ſides of it. The courſe of it is a little embarraſſed by a rapid or ſtrong current, called the *Fall of the Recollet*, in memory of a Monk of that order drowned in it. The Eccleſiaſtics of the Seminary of *Montreal* had, for a long time, a miſſion amongſt the *Indians* near this place, which they have ſince removed. River of Meadows.

The third arm of the river is ſo taken up with a number of iſlands, that there is almoſt as much land as water. This channel is called *the Thouſand Iſles*, or *St John's* River. At the extremity of the *Iſle of Jeſus* is the little iſland *Bizard*, ſo called from Channel of a former

a former proprietor, who was a *Swiſs* officer, and a little higher towards the South, you find the iſland *Perrot*, ſo called from the firſt governor of *Montreal*, who was of this name. This iſland is about one league in length, and is very good land. The iſland *Bizard* terminates the Lake of the Two Mountains, and the iſland *Perrot* ſeparates the ſame lake from that of *St Louis*.

Iſles *Bizard* and *Perrot*.

Lakes of the Two Mountains and *St Louis*.

The *Lake of the two Mountains* is properly the opening of the great river, called the *River of the Outawais*, into the River *St Lawrence*, which bounds *Canada* on the South. This Lake is two leagues long, and very near one league and a half in breadth. The lake of *St Louis* is ſomewhat ſmaller, and is indeed no more than a widening of the River *St Lawrence*. The ſoil is excellent all this way.

Iroquois villages. Village of the *Fall of St Louis*.

But the chief defence of *Montreal*, and all the country about it, were two villages of *Iroquois* Chriſtians, and the fort of *Chambly*, an incroachment in the province of *New York*. The firſt of thoſe villages is that of the *Fall of St Louis*, ſituated on the continent towards the South, and three leagues above *Montreal*. This village is extremely populous, and has always been reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt barriers of the *French* againſt the unconverted *Iroquois*, and the *Engliſh* of *New York*. The ſituation has been twice removed. Its ſecond ſtation, eſtabliſhed in 1708, (about a league from the former) is near a rapid current, called the *Fall of St Louis*, which name it ſtill preſerves, though it ſtands at a conſiderable diſtance from it. It appears to be now fixed for ever, and the church and convent of the Jeſuits are, in their kind, two of the fineſt edifices in all *Canada*. Its ſituation is quite charming. The river is very broad here, and is interſperſed with ſeveral iſlands, the proſpect whereof has a very fine effect. The Iſle of *Montreal* forms the perſpective on one ſide, the view having nothing to confine it on the other, as the Lake *St Louis*, which begins a little higher, extends itſelf beyond the ſight.

Village of the *Mountain*.

The ſecond village is called the *village of the Two Mountains*, becauſe it ſtood for a long time on the double-headed mountain, which has given its name to the whole iſland. It is ſince removed to the *Fall of the Recollet*; and it ſtands at preſent on the *Terra Firma*, near the Weſtern extremity of the iſland. The Eccleſiaſtics of the Seminary of *Montreal* have the government of it. The inhabitants were once famous for their courage and piety, till the avarice of ſome dealers introduced the trade of ſpirituous liquors amongſt them, which has done as much, if not more, miſchief here, than at the miſſions of *St Francis* and *Beçancourt*.

CADARAQUI, *or* IROQUOIS RIVER,

Caſcades

belonging to the Six Nations, ſeized by the *French*, and by them called *St Lawrence* River, begins at what they call the *Caſcades*, a rift, cloſe by the upper end of the Iſle *Perrot*, which ſeparates Lake *St Louis* from that of the *two Mountains*. In order to ſhun this rift, you keep a little to the right hand, and are obliged, in a particular place, called *Le Trou*, or *the Hole*, to let the canoes paſs through it empty: They are afterwards hauled on ſhore, and carried, with all the baggage, on men's ſhoulders, for about half a quarter of a league higher. This is done with a view to avoid a ſecond rift, called *le Buiſſon*, *the Buſh*, which is a fine ſheet of water, falling from a flat rock, about half a foot above the level of the water under it. It is poſſible to ſave paſſengers all this trouble and fatigue, by deepening the channel of a river, which falls into another ſomewhat higher than the caſcade; an affair of a very trifling expence.

Le Trou Rift.

Buiſſon Rift.

Above the *Buiſſon* the river is a quarter of a league in breadth, and the land on both ſides covered with fine woods, and is, beſides, extremely fertile. It is long ſince the grounds on the Northern bank have been begun to be cleared; and it would be no difficult undertaking, to make a high-way from the point near the iſland of *Montreal*, as far as the bay called *la Galette*. By this means forty leagues of an extremely difficult and tedious navigation, occaſioned by the rifts in the river, might be ſaved.

A new high-way propoſed

Three leagues hence, from *le Trou*, is another rift, called the *Cedar Hill Rift*, from the great quantity of cedars formerly growing near this place. A fourth rift, two leagues and a half hence, is called the rift of *St Francis*, from whence to Lake *St Francis* you have only half a league. This lake is ſeven leagues in length, and almoſt three in breadth, where broadeſt. The land on both ſides is low, but appears to be of an excellent

Cedar-hill rift

St Francis rift

excellent ſoil. The rout from *Montreal* hither lies a little towards the South-Weſt, and the Lake of *St Francis* runs Weſt-ſouth-weſt, and Eaſt-north-eaſt.

From hence you come to the *Cheſnaux du lac*, for thus are called thoſe chan- *Cheſnaux Lac.*
nels formed by a cluſter of iſlands, which take up almoſt the whole breadth of the river in this place. The ſoil ſeems here extraordinary good, and never was proſpect more charming than that of the country about it.

The moſt remarkable falls here are that of the *Moulinet*, which is even frightful to *Moulinet* Fall.
behold, and exceeding difficult to get through; and that called the *Long Fall*, half a *Long* Fall
league in length, and paſſable only to canoes half loaded. The next you come to is called the *Flat Riſt*, about ſeven leagues above the *Long Fall*, and five below that *Flat* Riſt.
called *les Galots*, which is the laſt of the falls. *La Galette* lies a league farther, and *Les Galots* Falls.
one can never be weary of admiring the extraordinary beauty of the country, and of the noble foreſts, which overſpread all the lands about this bay and *La Galette*, particularly the vaſt woods of oaks of a prodigious height.

A fort would perhaps be better ſituated, and much more neceſſary at *La Galette*, A fort at *La Galette* than at *Cadaraqui*, for this reaſon, that not ſo much as a ſingle canoe could paſs without being ſeen; whereas at *Cadaraqui*, they may eaſily ſail behind the iſles, without being perceived at all. The lands, moreover, about *la Galette* are excellent, whence there would be always plenty of proviſions, which would be no ſmall ſaving. And, beſides, a veſſel could very well go from *la Galette* to *Niagara* in two days with a fair wind. One motive for building the fort at *Cadaraqui* was, the conveniency of trading with the *Iroquois*. But thoſe *Indians* would as willingly come to *la Galette* as to the other place. Their way, indeed, would be much longer, but then it would ſave them a traverſe of eight or nine leagues on the Lake *Ontario*; not to mention, that a fort at *la Galette* would ſecure all the country lying between the great river of the *Outeouais* and the River *St Lawrence*; for this country is inacceſſible on the ſide of the river, on account of the rifts, and nothing is more practicable, than to defend the banks of the great river; at leaſt, theſe are the ſentiments of thoſe ſent by the court of *France* to viſit all the diſtant poſts of *Canada*.

One league and a half from *La Galette*, on the oppoſite ſhore, at the mouth of the *La Preſentation* Fort *Oſwegatchi* River, the *French* have lately built the fort *La Preſentation*, which commands that river, and keeps open a communication by land between Lake *Champlain* and this place.

Four leagues above *La Preſentation* is the iſle called *Tonihata*, about half a league in *Tonihata* Iſle. length, and of a very good ſoil. An *Iroquois*, called by the *French* writers, for what *Iroquois* proprietor. reaſon we are not told, the *Quaker*, a man of natural good ſenſe, and much attached to the *French* nation, had, as they ſay, got the domain of this iſland of a Count of *Frontenac*, the patent of which, it ſeems, he was proud of ſhewing to any body. He ſold his lordſhip for a gallon of brandy, reſerving, however, the profits to himſelf, and taking care to ſettle eighteen or twenty families of his own nation upon this iſland.

It is ten leagues from hence to *Cadaraqui*; and, on your way to this place, you paſs through a ſort of Archipel*, called the *Thouſand Iſles*, and there may poſſibly be *Thouſand Iſles.* about five hundred. From hence to *Cadaraqui* they reckon four leagues. The river here is freer and opener, and its breadth half a league. On the right are three large and deep bays, in the third of which ſtands

FORT CADARAQUI, *or* FRONTENAC,

which is one hundred and fifty miles from *Montreal*, and three hundred miles from *Frontenac*, Fort. *Quebec*, was built by Count *Frontenac*, governor of *Canada* in 1672, at the time the crowns of *England* and *France* were united in a treaty to deſtroy the *Dutch*. At the ſame time the *French* were in amity with the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, and the Count prevailed with them to allow him to build a trading houſe at *Cadaraqui*, and under that pretence he built a fort, to which he gave his own name *Frontenac*. The fort is a ſquare, with four baſtions, built of ſtone, and is about a quarter of a league in

* *Archipel* is a truncated word for *Archipelago*, the modern appellation of the *Ægæum Mare*, *Ægæan ſea* of the ancients, ſeparating *Greece* from *Aſia*, and full of iſlands, which property has occaſioned a narrow ſea, or ſtrait, where you meet with a cluſter of iſles, to be called *Archipel*, which is ſometimes alſo, as it is here, applied to the aggregate of iſlands, its contents.

circuit. The ſituation of it is in latitude 44, 17, and has ſomething very agreeable, being on a peninſula, near which is a good haven. The banks of the river preſents every where a beautiful landſcape and of a great variety, as does the entry of the lake *Ontario*, which is at no more than a ſhort league diſtant.

This place cannot command the entrance of the Lake without a ſuperior fleet, becauſe the river here is interſperſed with iſlands of different ſizes, all of them covered with wood, and any veſſels may ſail by undiſcovered. Thus ſome of the garriſon of *Oſwego* in 1755, went in open whale boats into the river St *Lawrence*, and returned without being annoyed by the *French*. The harbour is frozen up at leaſt four months in the year, and is ſometimes extremely endangered by ice in the ſpring. The ſituation of this place is unhealthy by reaſon of the marſhes that ſurround it, and the fort is of no ſecurity to *Canada*, but is advantageous for the fur trade with thoſe of the Five Nations who live near the lake, and is a very important place in an active war with the *Iroquois*, as being properly ſituated for aſſembling forces deſigned to act againſt them, and to intercept their hunters as they return from '*Skaniaderade*, by the Eaſt end of Lake *Ontario*. The *French* alſo have, by means of this fort, obliged the Five Nations to retire from their lands on the North Weſt ſide of the river *Iroquois*, between *Frontenac* and *Montreal*.

The Five Nations in the war with the *French*, in *July* 1688, when they ſacked great part of the iſle of *Montreal*, and in *October* following compleated the deſtruction of the iſland, except the city, occaſioned the *French* garriſon at *Frontenac* to deſtroy the two barks they had on Lake *Ontario*, built by the *M. de la Salle*, and abandon the fort by the governor's order. But in their precipitate flight, the match they had left to blow up the magazine, and one of the baſtions, miſſed its effect. Fifty *Iroquois* entered the fort, where they found twenty eight barrels of powder, and other ſtores, which they took away, and left the fort a little damaged and empty. It remained in this condition, abandoned both by the *French* and *Indians*, till the re-inſtating Count *Frontenac* in the government of *Canada*, in 1689. That winter ſeveral young gentlemen and *Indian* traders came from *Quebec*, and extended their incroachments to this place, and repaired ſome little damages the *Indians* had done, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in this fort. In 1699 the confederates, or Five Nations, concluded a peace with the Count, and the *French* have ever ſince kept poſſeſſion of *Frontenac* and the country from thence to *Montreal*.

Frontenac taken by Lt. Col. *Bradſtreet*.

The *French* continued in poſſeſſion of this place till 1758, when Major General *Abercromby*, commander in chief of the *Britiſh* forces in *North America*, detached Lieutenant Colonel *Bradſtreet*, with 154 Regulars, 2491 Provincials, 27 of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 61 Rangers, 300 Batteau men, and 70 *Indians*, in all 3103 men, including officers, and on *Auguſt* 25, he landed his troops within a mile of Fort *Frontenac* without oppoſition, and the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war on the 27th.—It was a ſquare fort of 100 yards the exterior ſide, and had in it 110 men, ſome women, children, and *Indians*; 60 pieces of cannon (half of which were mounted) 16 mortars, and an immenſe quantity of proviſions and goods, for their Weſtern garriſons, the *Indians*, and to ſupport their armies, valued at 800,000 livres.—Nine veſſels from eight to eighteen guns, which was all the *French* had on the Lake *Ontario*, one of which Lieutenant Colonel *Bradſtreet* took richly laden, and ſent another to *Oſwego*; the ſeven others, with the proviſions, fort, artillery, ſtores, *&c.* are burnt and deſtroyed.

This fort was one of the principal marts the *French* had in *North America* for a trade with the *Indians*, who came from the moſt remote parts, and took off a great quantity of coarſe woollen goods, ſuch as ſtrouds and duffils, with guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, kettles, powder and ſhot; beſides ſhirts, and cloaths ready made, iron and braſs work, and trinket of all ſorts, with ſeveral other articles, in exchange for all ſorts of furs.

The ſoil from *La Galette*, as far as this place, is but indifferent, which quality however belongs only to the lands lying on the banks of the river, for higher up, that is nearer the fort, it is exceeding good.

Uſe of the fort.

Behind the fort is a moraſs, full of all manner of game, which affords plenty of proviſion and amuſement to the garriſon. There was formerly a great trade carried on here, chiefly with the *Iroquois*; and the reaſon for building the fort on this ſpot was, to draw them to the *French*, to keep them in awe, and to hinder them from carrying

carrying their furs to the *Engliſh*. But this traffic did not continue long, and the fort has not been able to prevent thoſe *Indians* from doing that nation abundance of miſchief. They have ſtill, however, ſeveral families ſettled without its walls; and there are alſo ſome of the *Siſſiſaguez*, an *Algonquin* nation, which have a village on the Weſtern banks of the Lake *Ontario*, another at *Niagara*, and a third in the *Narrows*, or *Detroit*.

Hogs, Cedar, and Deer iſles

In the middle of the river is a very pleaſant iſland, called the Iſland of *Hogs*, from the multitude of thoſe animals bred on it. Two others, named *Cedar Iſland*, and *Deer Iſland*, lie a little below this; about half a league's diſtance from each other. The Bay of *Cadaraqui* is double, occaſioned by a Cape very near its middle, and advancing pretty far into the water, under which is very good anchoring for large barks. M. *de la Salle*, ſo famous for his diſcoveries and miſfortunes, who was formerly Lord of *Cadaraqui*, and Governor of the fort, built three or four barks here, which have been ſince ſunk, and are ſtill to be ſeen under water.

The following Account of the Navigation of the River St Lawrence, *from Lake* Ontario *to the Iſle of* Anticoſti, *is given by a Gentleman who lately made that Voyage.*

FROM *Niaouenſe* to *Montreal* 65 leagues, navigable only with battoes and canoes. The river from the lake *Ontario* to *La Galette* is ſtill water. From *La Galette* to the upper end of lake St *Francis*, and from the lower end of lake St *Francis* to the church of the Cedar Hills, are ſeveral long rapid rifts, but in moderate weather may be paſſed through without landing, with good pilots: From the church of the Cedar Hills croſs the point *Le Trou*, there is a carrying place of about ſix or ſeven miles, in going up they are obliged to half unload their battoes, the rifts being very rapid, and, in time of floods, dangerous. The pilots muſt be well acquainted with the channels. Below the lake St *Lewis*, about 12 miles above *Montreal*, there is a long, rapid rift, called St *Lewis Fall*, it is ſeveral miles long, they keep near the ſouth ſide, and run in a ſtrait line till they paſs the mill, then they muſt make ſeveral ſhort traverſes to humour the current and channel. This rift muſt not be attempted by ſtrangers.

From *Montreal* to *Quebec* 60 leagues, navigable with veſſels of forty or fifty tons.

In this paſſage there are ſhoals in many places, even the battoes run often a-ground; a pilot is therefore abſolutely neceſſary. The moſt dangerous are ſome rocky ſhoals oppoſite to the church of St *Anne*'s below the *Three Rivers*. The veſſels muſt keep near the ſouth ſide, after they have paſſed the church; many of the rocks appear above water in cluſters, which at a diſtance look like flocks of ducks.

From QUEBEC down the river.

At *Quebec* they build ſeventy gun ſhips. Common nip tides riſe ſixteen feet. The firſt danger is in making the traverſe at the lower end of the Iſle of *Orleans*, which muſt not be attempted without a fair gale, enough of day light, and a good pilot. The next danger is at the *Whirlpool*, between the iſland of *Coudres* and the Continent, where the tide of flood throws the ſhips aſhore on the ſouth ſide, and the tide of ebb upon the north ſide, ſo that the paſſing of it muſt not be attempted without a fair leading gale, ſtrong enough to ſtem the tide. When they get below this place the pilots are diſmiſſed, and when they paſs *Green* iſland, they keep within a few leagues of the ſouth ſhore, until they make the iſland of *Anticoſti*.

The following Courſe of a Cartel Ship from QUEBEC *through the Traverſes is by another Hand.*

1756, *October* 4th, at nine A. M. half ebb weighed and ſteered about N.E. till a hommock on the ſouth ſhore appeared in one with the weſt end of *Iſle Madam*, then ſteering ſouthward of the E. for the higheſt of a parcel of rocks, till we had made the middle of *Iſle aux Rots*, and the weſt end of *Iſle Madam* in one with the low end of the high land to the S.W. at this time haled up N.S. for a barren high hill in the north ſhore, at *Cape Torment*, ſteered thus till we brought the N.E. end of *Orleans* in one

with the main high land, to the N. of the back of *Orleans*, then ſailed down the river at about the diſtance of a mile from the N. ſhore. *N. B.* 3 fathoms low water in the traverſe, and riſes at 4 P. M.

The River SAGUENAY

is navigable for twenty-five leagues from *Tadouſſac*, where it falls into the River *St Lawrence*. It iſſues from a lake called by the *Indians*, *Piekouagami*, and by the *French* Lake *St Jean*, which receives its waters from three conſiderable rivers, near the ſprings of which are three great lakes, called the Lake of *Miſtaſſins*, the Lake of *Pere Albanel*, and Lake *Dauphin*. Theſe three great lakes are ſituated in the country belonging to *Hudſon's Bay*, and communicate with each other, and diſcharge themſelves into that Bay by *Rupert* River.

Lake *St Jean*

Miſtaſſins, *Albanel*, and *Dauphin* lakes

French Miſſions,

The *Frenh* have ſeveral miſſions on the banks of theſe lakes, as well as of Lake *St Jean* and *Saguenay*. The miſſion called *Checoutimi* lies midway between *Tadouſſac* and Lake *St Jean*; and at that called *Metabetchouan*, on the banks of Lake *St Jean*, they have alſo a ſettlement.

And ſettlement.

Indian nations in the *French* intereſt

All the country to the North and North-Eaſt is full of lakes and rivers, and inhabited by different nations of *Indians*, the chief of which are the *Checoutimiens*, the *Piekouagamiens*, the *Nekoubaniſtes*, the *Great* and the *Little Miſtaſſins*, the *Papinachois*, and ſeveral others, all in the *French* intereſt.

The River OUTAWAIS.

riſes in latitude 48° 30′, and after running South about thirty miles, falls into the Lake *Timiſcaming*, from whence it continues its courſe in the ſame direction to latitude 46, where it receives a river that has its ſource near Lake *Nipiſſing*, called by *D'Anville*, *Nipi-Sirinis*, or the *Sorcerer's Lake*. From this place the *Outawais* falls with an Eaſtern courſe into the Lake of the *Two Mountains*, formed by the River *St Lawrence*, oppoſite to the iſland of *Montreal*.

Nipiſſing lake

Southern Bounds of *Canada*.

The River *Outawais*, with the river we juſt now mentioned as falling into it, and ſome others running from Lake *Nipiſſing* into Lake *Huron*, are to be conſidered as the Southern boundaries of *Canada*, ſince the Five Nations lay claim to all the country Southward. Hence the *French* were formerly obliged to take this way to Lake *Huron*, though the navigation is very troubleſome, on account of the many rifts and portages, or carrying-places, till, after their incroachments on the *Britiſh* territories, they found means, by erecting forts at the principal paſſes, to ſecure the navigation of the River *Iroquois*, and the Lakes *Ontario* and *Erie*.

The Lake SUPERIOR.

Extent of Lake *Superior*

is the moſt conſiderable of the four large lakes which more immediately communicate with each other and the River *St Lawrence*. It is generally allowed to be at leaſt 80 leagues long, (*Charlevoix* makes it 200) and from 30 to 40, and even 50 broad; a circumſtance which renders the navigation of it extremely dangerous in boiſterous weather. There are, however, a number of little harbours on its coaſts, in which veſſels may find ſhelter.

Its Iſlands.

This lake abounds with a multitude of iſlands, ſome of which are ſeven or eight leagues long, and three or four broad. The moſt conſiderable are thoſe called by the *French*, *Iſle Royale*; *Iſle Phelipeaux*, formerly *Iſle Minong*; *Iſle Pontchartrain*; *Iſle Maurepas*; *Iſle Hocquart*; and *Iſle Sainte Anne*.

Rivers.

A number of rivers, ſome of which are very conſiderable, diſcharge themſelves into this lake. One of theſe which falls into it, near the middle of its northern ſhore, riſes about 25 or 30 leagues North of Lake *Superior*, from a lake called *Alimipegon*, near which are the ſources of a river that falls into *Hudſon's Bay*. Another river that falls into Lake *Superior* near the laſt mentioned, is called, in the *French* maps, *Natouagan*, and communicates, if we may believe the inhabitants, by a chain of rivers and ſmaller lakes, with a conſiderable lake called Lake *Bourbon*, which is made to communicate, in like manner, by *Port Nelſon River*, called by the *French Bourbon* River, with *Hudſon's Bay* to the North-Eaſt. The *French* likewiſe ſuppoſe that it communicates Weſtward with the great ſea, commonly called the *South Sea* or *Pacific Ocean*.

Natouagan River.

At

At the mouth of *Les Trois Rivieres*, or the Three Rivers, is a little *French* fort, called *Camanifligouia*; and twenty-five leagues to the Weſt of the ſaid fort the land begins to ſlope, and the river to run towards the Weſt. Fort *Camanifligouia*.

At ninety-five leagues from this greateſt height lies the ſecond eſtabliſhment of the *French* that way, called Fort *St Pierre*, in the Lake *des Pluies*. The third is Fort *St Charles*, eighty leagues farther on the Lake *des Bois*. The fourth is Fort *Maurepas*, a hundred leagues diſtant from the laſt, near the head of the Lake of *Ouinipigon*. Fort *la Reine*, which is the fifth, lies a hundred leagues farther on the river of the *Aſſiniboels*.* Another fort had been built on the river *Rouge*, but was deſerted on account of its vicinity to the two laſt. The ſixth, Fort *Dauphin*, ſtands on the Weſt ſide of *Lac des Prairies*, or *of the Meadows*. And the ſeventh, which is called Fort *Bourbon*, ſtands on the ſhore of the great Lake *Bourbon*. The chain ends with Fort *Poſkoyac*, at the bottom of a river of that name, which falls into Lake *Bourbon*. The river *Poſkoyac* is made by *Deliſle* and *Buache* to riſe within twenty-five leagues of their Weſt ſea, which, they ſay, communicates with the *Pacific Ocean*. All theſe forts are under the governor of *Canada*. Fort *St Pierre*. Fort *St Charles*. Fort *Maurepas*. Fort *la Reine*. Fort *Dauphin*. Fort *Bourbon*. Port *Poſkoyac*

On the Southern coaſt of Lake *Superior*, which extends almoſt due Eaſt and Weſt, are the Iſles *de St Michel*, and the Bay of *Chagouamigon*, at the bottom of which was formerly a ſmall *Indian* town, where a miſſionary and ſome other *French* came to ſettle in 1661, by means of which this place, at firſt ſcarce worth notice, ſoon became very remarkable. The *Outagami*, *Saki*, *Outawai*, *Huron*, and *Ilinois Indians*, reſorted thither ſo early as 1668, for the ſake of trade, and many of them ſettled there; and the traffic is ſtill pretty conſiderable. This ſettlement was called *La Miſſion du St Eſprit*, or the *Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt*. Iſles *de Saint Michel*. *French* ſettlements. *Du St Eſprit*.

Twenty-five leagues to the Eaſt is a Peninſula that ſtretches a conſiderable way into the Lake, and terminates in a point called the Point of *Kioanan*. This peninſula forms a bay of the ſame name with the point, at the mouth of which lie a groupe of iſlands, called by the *French*, *Iſles de St François Xavier*. Point and Bay *Kioanan*. Iſles *de St François Xavier*.

Lake *Superior* is very ſtreight, full of ſands, and extremely dangerous, if you ſhould be taken ſhort with the North wind. The North ſide, therefore, is the beſt and moſt convenient courſe, being lined with rocks from one end to the other, which form harbours, that afford very ſafe ſhelter. Theſe harbours are extremely neceſſary to thoſe who ſail in canoes through this lake, in which they have remarked the following ſingular phænomenon. Navigation of Lake *Superior*.

When a ſtorm is brooding, they are advertiſed of it two days before. At firſt they perceive a gentle murmuring on the ſurface of the water, which laſts the whole day without any ſenſible increaſe. On the morrow after, the lake is entirely covered with pretty broad waves, which remain all day long without breaking; ſo that you may ſafely continue your voyage, and, if the wind be favourable, make good way; but on the third day, and before you are the leaſt aware of it, the lake is all on fire. The ocean in its greateſt fury does not exceed the agitation of its waters; ſo that, if you are not near ſome place of ſafety, ſhipwreck is unavoidable. This you are always ſure to find on the North ſide, whereas on the oppoſite ſhore you are obliged to make to land as faſt as poſſible on the ſecond day, and take up your quarters at a conſiderable diſtance from the water ſide. Prognoſtics of its tempeſtuous ſtate.

In the channel through which this lake diſcharges itſelf into that of the *Hurons*, you meet with a rift, cauſed by very large rocks, or iſlands, which the miſſionaries, who have a very flouriſhing church and congregation near it, have called the *Fall of St Mary*. There is likewiſe a *French* fort here, and ſeveral *French* inhabitants. St *Mary* Rift.

On ſome parts of the coaſt, and in ſome of its iſlands, are found great lumps of copper, and the inhabitants ſay there was formerly a large rock of the ſame metal, which roſe conſiderably above the ſurface of the water. This rock now diſappears, and has probably been covered with ſand or mud by the waves of the lake. It is abſolutely certain, that pretty large lumps of it have been found in ſeveral places, without digging very deep for it, and often almoſt without any alloy. A rock of copper.

Michilimakinac is properly the name of a ſmall iſland, almoſt round, and very high, ſituated to the Weſt of the abovementioned channel, at the extremity of Lake *Huron*, which name cuſtom has extended to all the country round it. This iſland ſeems about three or four miles in circumference, and is ſeen at the

* Theſe diſtances of the forts are taken from *Remarques ſur la Carte de l'Amerique, par M. Bellin*, publiſhed at *Paris*, 1755

the diſtance of twelve leagues. There are two other iſlands South of it, the farthest of which is five or ſix leagues in length; the other is very ſmall and quite round. Both of them are extremely well wooded, and the ſoil excellent; whereas *Michilimakinac* is quite rocky and barren, without the leaſt verdure, except moſs, and ſome ſtraggling blades of graſs. It is, however, one of the moſt celebrated places in all *Canada*, and has been, according to a very antient tradition among the *Indians*, the chief ſeat of a nation of the ſame name, of whom they reckoned to the number of thirty colonies, or ſettlements, on the adjacent continent. They have been deſtroyed, as it is pretended, by the *Iroquois*; but we have no account when or where this event happened. Some of the miſſionaries aſſure us, that they had ſeen veſtiges of this capital, though *Charlevoix* ſays, that none of them were remaining in his time.

Michilimakinac, a famous iſland.

In 1671, Father *Marquette* made a ſettlement on this iſland with a nation of *Hurons*, whom he induced to follow him. A fort was built here, and it became an important poſt; but it fell to ruin by degrees, and the miſſion of *St Ignatius* has been ſince formed, and a fort built on the adjacent continent.

Settlement of Fort *Ignatius*.

The ſituation of *Michilimakinac* is admirable, with reſpect to the conveniency of trading. This port lies between three great lakes; Lake *Mickigan*, which is three hundred leagues in circumference, without reckoning the great bay that falls into it; Lake *Huron*, which is three hundred and fifty leagues round, and in form of a triangle; and Lake *Superior*, which is no leſs than five hundred in circuit; all of them navigable for the largeſt barks, and the two firſt ſeparated only by a ſmall ſtrait, deep enough for veſſels of the largeſt draught of water, which may alſo ſail over all Lake *Erie* without the leaſt difficulty, as far as the famous cataract of *Niagara*. It is true, the channel which joins Lake *Huron* to Lake *Superior* is much embarraſſed with rifts, which, however, do not hinder canoes from arriving at *Michilimakinac*, laden with every thing that the country about Lake *Superior* affords.

Conveniency of *Michilimakinac*.

The chief nouriſhment of the *Michilimakinacis* was fiſh, there being no place in the world where they are in greater abundance and variety, ſuch as herring, carp, gilthead, pike, ſturgeon, *aſticamegue*, or white fiſh, and eſpecially trouts, all in the greateſt plenty, both in the three lakes and the rivers which fall into them.

Fiſh in plenty and variety.

The ſight of the circumjacent country preſents us with no idea of its fruitfulneſs; but there is no need to go a great way from the ſhore to find land capable of bearing almoſt any kind of vegetable. The *Outaouais*, who have retired hither, ſow corn here; a cuſtom which they have learnt of the *Hurons*. The *Amikoués* formerly occupied theſe iſlands, which nation has been reduced to a ſmall number of families, who have removed to the iſland *Manitoualan*, in the Northern parts of Lake *Huron*.

NATURAL HISTORY *of CANADA.*

WITH reſpect to this article, the reader is not to expect a minute detail of particulars, which are often very little intereſting in themſelves, and generally capable of affording but a very ſlender entertainment; all that is here intended being only to give a ſhort ſketch of ſuch parts of the produce as are peculiar or of moſt conſequence to this colony.

Of the produce of *Canada*.

We will begin with the catching and curing of the Cod-fiſh, for which the iſland of *Cape Breton*, and ſome parts of *Canada* lie ſo very convenient. Every one knows the excellency of this fiſh, when freſh; and it is ſcarce inferior when it has lain two days in ſalt: its fleſh even acquires a firmneſs, which is far from being diſadvantageous to it. But it is the fiſhermen only who enjoy the pleaſure of regaling themſelves with what is moſt delicious belonging to it, that is, the head, tongue, and liver, which, ſteeped in oil and vinegar, with a little pepper, makes a moſt excellent diſh. But as it would occaſion too great a conſumption of ſalt, to preſerve all thoſe parts, they are generally thrown into the ſea, at leaſt, all that they cannot make uſe of while the fiſhing ſeaſon laſts.

The Cod fiſh.

The largeſt ſort of Cod are about three feet in length, and are met with on the great Bank of *Newfoundland*. There is perhaps no fiſh that has a larger throat in proportion to the reſt of its body, or that is more voracious; all ſorts of ſubſtances having been found in its belly, ſuch as pieces of broken earthen ware, iron, and

The larger cod

and glaſs. It has been currently believed, that it could digeſt ſuch traſh; but the world is now cured of that miſtake, which had no other foundation, but only that thoſe pieces of iron were ſometimes half worn away. The general opinion now is, that the cod has the faculty of turning what the *French* fiſhermen call *le Gau*, that is, the *ſtomach*, inside out, like a pocket, and by this means diſcharges itſelf of whatever is diſagreeable or burthenſome to it. A remarkable property.

What is called in *Holland* the *Cabeliau*, is a ſort of cod caught in the Channel, and in ſome other places, which differs from that of *North America* in ſize only, being much leſs than this latter. They are contented with ſalting that of the Great Bank, which is then called white or more commonly green cod. The leſſer cod

Monſieur *Denys*, a *French* Gentleman, ſays, that excellent ſalt has formerly been made in *Canada*, even as good as that of *Brouage*; but that after the experiment had been made, the ſalt-pits dug for that purpoſe had been filled up, to the great prejudice and diſcredit of the colony. Salt produced in *Canada*.

The dried cod, or what the *French* call *la Merlucke*, can only be cured on the coaſts, and that with very great care, and after a long experience. But what may appear ſingular enough is, that though this fiſh abounds on all the coaſts of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, there is hardly any *Frenchman*, who has attempted this fiſhery, that has not been ruined by it. Dried cod expenſive.

The reaſon given for this is, that, in order to draw any advantage from it, the perſon who undertakes it muſt abſolutely reſide in the country. For, as this fiſhery can only be exerciſed from the beginning of *May* to the end of *Auguſt*, if ſailors were brought from *France*, either they muſt be paid for the whole year, in which caſe the expence will eat up the profit, or only for the fiſhing ſeaſon, on which ſuppoſition they are ſure to be loſers, ſince the only employment they can afterwards have in the country is ſawing or felling of timber, which is not ſufficient to maintain them; ſo that either the workmen muſt ſtarve, or the undertaker fail. The reaſon.

On the contrary, when the undertaker reſides in the country, he is ſure to be better ſerved, and it will then be his own fault entirely if he grows not rich. By this means he will have it in his power to ſecure the beſt hands, to ſeize the right times for fiſhing, to ſelect the proper places, and to find the fiſhermen employment about his own habitation for the reſt of the year. Some *French* writers were of opinion, and perhaps very juſtly, that had the people of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, employed themſelves in this manner, for the laſt hundred and fifty years, this province would have been one of the moſt powerful colonies in *North America*; and that whilſt the people in *France* were diſcrediting this province with all their might, as entirely uſeleſs, and abſolutely good for nothing, the inhabitants of *New England*, though deſtitute of many advantages which the firſt enjoyed, were raiſing fortunes out of this fiſhery. Conſtant reſidence neceſſary.

Beſides the cod, there are many other ſorts of fiſh in the parts adjacent to the *Gulf of St Laurence*, and on the banks of *Newfoundland*, ſuch as whales, blowers, ſword-fiſh, porpoiſes, flettans, with many others of inferior worth. Nothing can be more diverting than the fight between the whale and the ſword-fiſh. This latter is of the ſize of an heifer, from ſeven to eight feet long, tapering all the way toward the tail. It takes its name from the weapon with which nature has armed it, being a ſort of ſword, about three feet in length, and four fingers broad. This proceeds from its ſnout, on each ſide of which is a row of teeth about an inch long, and ſet at equal diſtances. This fiſh is excellent eating, and will do with almoſt any ſauce. The head is more delicious as well as thicker and ſquarer than a calf's head. Its eyes are of an extraordinary bigneſs. Sword-fiſh deſcribed

The whale and ſword-fiſh never meet without a battle, and this latter is believed to be conſtantly the aggreſſor. Sometimes two ſword-fiſhes join their forces againſt one whale, in which caſe the parties are by no means equal. The whale has no arms either for attack or defence, but his tail, and before he can aſſail his enemy, he is forced to dive with his head foremoſt into the ſea, when, if he is fortunate enough in his aim, he is ſure to diſpatch his adverſary at one blow. The other is no leſs dexterous in ſhunning the ſtroke, and inſtantly making at the whale, plunges his weapon in his back. The wound commonly goes no farther than the fat, or blubber, in which caſe the injury is but ſlight. The moment the whale ſees his foe lance at him, he dives to the bottom; but the other purſues him thither, and obliges him to come up to the Fight between the whale and the ſword-fiſh.

ſurface. The fight begins again, and continues till the ſword-fiſh has loſt ſight of his adverſary, who is much the better ſwimmer on the ſurface of the water.

Flettan deſcribed.

The Flettan reſembles a large plaice, and what is called Flet, is probably the diminutive of the other. It is grey on the back, but of a whitiſh colour under the belly. Its length is commonly from four to five feet, its breadth at leaſt two feet, and its thickneſs one. The head is very large, and every part of it extremely tender and delicious eating. The juice extracted from its bones exceeds the fineſt marrow. Its eyes are nearly as large as thoſe of the ſword-fiſh, and the extremities of the two ſides, which the *French* call the *relingues*, and which I am not well enough verſed in cookery to tranſlate, are deemed exquiſite morſels. The whole body is generally thrown into the ſea to feed the cod, to which the Flettan is the moſt dangerous enemy, and commonly makes but one meal of three cods.

Other fiſhes yielding profit

The remaining fiſhes, worthy the notice of the curious in this province, are the ſea-wolf, the ſea-cow, and the porpoiſe, which, with thoſe already mentioned, are capable of becoming the object of a very lucrative commerce in the gulph of St *Laurence*, and even for a conſiderable way up the river of that name.

The ſea-wolf

The Sea-wolf owes its name to its cry, which is a ſort of howling; for as to its ſhape it by no means reſembles that of a wolf, nor of any known land animal whatſoever. *Leſcarbot* ſays, he has heard thoſe creatures cry like the mewing of a cat; but what he ſpeaks of muſt in all probability be the cry of the young ones, whoſe voice was not yet come to its full pitch and ſtrength of tone, which theſe animals have when mature. We need not, however, make any ſcruple to claſs this creature with fiſhes, though it differs from that genus in that it is not dumb, is brought forth at land, on which it lives, at leaſt as much as in the water, is covered with hair, and, in ſhort, that it is in every reſpect an animal truly amphibious. As it would be a vain piece of ſingularity and perverſeneſs to oppoſe the received notions and ways of ſpeaking, the war carried on againſt this creature, though it be as commonly on land as in water, the weapons in uſe being clubs or bludgeons, is known in this part of the world by the name of fiſhing, whilſt that carried on againſt the beavers, tho' in the water, and with nets, is called hunting.

Deſcribed.

The head of the ſea-wolf ſomewhat reſembles that of a dog; it has four very ſhort legs, eſpecially thoſe behind, and is in all other reſpects a fiſh. It rather crawls than walks upon its feet; the fore feet are armed with claws or nails, thoſe behind are made like fins; its ſkin is hard, and covered with ſhort hair of different colours. There are ſome of thoſe animals entirely white, and all of them are ſo when young; ſome become black and others red as they grow older, whilſt others again are of all thoſe colours together.

Several ſpecies.

The fiſhermen diſtinguiſh ſeveral ſpecies of ſea-wolves; the largeſt weigh two thouſand pounds, and this ſort is ſaid to have much ſharper noſes than the reſt; ſome of them are called by the *French* ſailors *braſſeurs*. A ſecond ſpecies is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Nau*, the reaſon and etymology of which are equally unknown. A third has the appellation of *Great-heads*. The young ones are very alert, and extremely dextrous in cutting the nets that are ſpread for them; they are ſpotted, full of play, and beautiful, at leaſt, for animals of their ſhape. The *Indians* accuſtom them to follow their footſteps like dogs, tho' they eat them without ſcruple or regard to their fondneſs.

Two of *Nova Scotia*, hurtful ſpecies.

There are two ſorts of ſea-wolves on the coaſts of *Nova Scotia*, and the young of one of theſe ſpecies are as big as hogs of the largeſt ſize. This fiſhery is carried on in the month of *February*, before the young, which are the chief object of it, have been much uſed to take the water. The old ones fly at the firſt attack, making a great noiſe, as a ſignal for the young to follow them, which they do with great ſpeed, unleſs prevented by the fiſhermen, who kill them by a ſlight blow on the ſnout. The number of thoſe animals muſt needs be vaſtly great, ſince, as ſome *French* authors relate, eight hundred of their young have been killed in one day.

Second ſpecies.

The ſecond ſort are very ſmall, one of them producing no more oil than its bladder will contain. They never venture far from the ſhore, and have always a centinel ſtanding watch. At the firſt ſignal he gives, the whole body ruſhes into the ſea, and ſometime after they return, raiſing themſelves on their hind legs, to ſee whether the coaſt be clear. There are, however, great numbers of them taken, tho' it be only practicable while they are on ſhore.

The

The fleth of this animal is excellent food, but their oil turns to much better account, and is obtained, by a very eafy proceſs, that is boiling the fleſh, which diſſolves over the fire. And oftentimes no more is required than the uſe of what they call *cbarniers*, or large ſquare of boards, on which is ſpread the fat of a number of ſea wolves: It melts of itſelf, and the oil diſcharges itſelf through an opening made in the frame of boards for the purpoſe. This oil, when new and freſh, is very good for culinary uſes, but that of the young ones grows very ſoon rank, and the other ſort, if kept the leaſt while, becomes too thin, and in that caſe is uſed for burning, or for curriers work. It preſerves its clearneſs a long time, has no ſmell, and leaves no impurities in the bottom of the barrel. Oil of the ſea-wolf.

In the infancy of the colony, the *French* made uſe of the ſkins of the ſea-wolves, for muffs; ſince that they are out of faſhion; the ſkins are chiefly employed to cover trunks and cloak bags; when tanned, they have a grain much like *Morocco* or *Turky* leather. They are not indeed ſo fine, but are leſs apt to crack, and they preſerve their freſhneſs much longer. Very good ſhoes are made of them, and a ſort of boots impenetrable to the water, not to mention various other uſes. They are tanned in *Canada* with the bark of the ſpruce fir, and to dye them black, they uſe the powder of certain ſtones found on the banks of rivers, called thunder ſtones, being a mineral marcaſſite. Uſe of the ſkin. Thunder ſtones.

Sea-wolves couple, and the females bring forth their young upon the rocks; they have commonly two at a time, and tho' they ſometimes ſuckle them under water, yet they more generally do it at land. To teach them to ſwim, they take them upon their ſhoulders, leave them in the water for a ſhort time, then take them up again, continuing this exerciſe, till they are capable of ſwimming alone; a very ſingular property in an aquatic animal, ſince terreſtial animals have generally no need of this inſtitution, moſt of them being naturally ſwimmers. Singular phenomenon of ſea-wolves.

The ſea-wolf has very acute ſenſes, and tho' this is the only thing with which nature has furniſhed theſe animals for their defence, they are however very often ſurprized, in the manner we have already mentioned, tho' the moſt common way is deſcribed as follows: It is uſual with thoſe creatures to come with the tide into creeks of the rivers. When the fiſhers have diſcovered any of thoſe creeks where conſiderable numbers uſed to haunt, they encloſe them with nets and piles, leaving only a ſmall opening for the ſea-wolves to enter. This opening is ſhut up at high water, ſo that at ebb they are left dry, and there is no further trouble but to knock them on the head. They alſo give chace to them in the water, in canoes, when the moment they lift their heads above water, they fire at them. If they happen only to wound them, they are however eaſily taken; but if they are killed dead, they ſink to the bottom like the beaver. The fiſhers have large dogs, that fetch them up in ſeven or eight fathom water. *Charlevoix* tells a circumſtance, which however he vouches not for fact, and indeed the ſtory carries not too many marks of probability; that a ſailor having one day ſurprized a prodigious number of thoſe animals, drove them all home before him with a ſwitch, like a herd of cows, and that he and his companions killed nine hundred of them. Way of taking them. Strangeſtory.

The Sea-cow is another marine animal taken by the *French* fiſhermen on the coaſt of the gulph of St *Laurence*, but in ſmall numbers, and I am not certain whether they are to be ſeen elſewhere. The *Engliſh* are ſaid formerly to have had a fiſhery of this ſort at the iſland *Sable*; but this eſtabliſhment was attended, in all probability, with very little profit to the undertakers. The ſea-cow.

This animal, in ſhape, differs very little from the ſea-wolf, but is ſomewhat larger. It is provided with a very ſingular ſort of weapon, which is, two teeth, thick and long as a man's arm, a little bent upwards, and at a diſtance appearing like horns, from whence it is likely they have obtained the name of ſea-cows. The *French* ſailors know them by the ſimple appellation of the fiſh with the long teeth. This tooth is, however, a moſt beautiful ivory, as well as all thoſe in the jaws of this fiſh, which are four fingers in length. Deſcribed.

There are alſo Porpoiſes in the river St *Laurence*, and thoſe of two colours. Thoſe in the ſalt water part of the river, which reaches almoſt as high as the Iſle of *Orleans*, differ very little from ſuch as are found in the ſea: In the freſh water part, on the contrary, they are entirely white, and of the ſize of an ordinary cow. The firſt appear generally in flocks or ſhoals; whether the ſame may be ſaid of the white ſort is not certain. Porpoiſes of two colours.

tain. There are none of them to be ſeen above *Quebec*, but great numbers of both kinds on the coaſts of *Nova Scotia*; ſo that the difference of their colour is not owing to the ſalt or freſh water in which they live, and therefore they muſt be two different ſpecies.

One white porpoiſe yields a hogſhead of oil, of much the ſame quality as that extracted from the ſea-wolf. The fleſh of this animal is not eaten, but that of the ſpecies called *pourcelles*, or the grey porpoiſe, is reckoned tolerable food. They make puddings and ſauſages of the guts; the hartlet is ſaid to be excellent fricaſſeed, and the head, tho' inferior to a calf's, is however, eſteemed beyond that of a ſheep.

Grey porpoiſes eaten.

The ſkins of both ſorts are tanned, and dreſſed like *Morocco* leather. At firſt it ſeems tender like hogs lard, and is about an inch thick. They continue ſhaving it down till it becomes tranſparent and very thin, tho' it ſtill retains a vaſt ſtrength, as when uſed in waiſtcoats or breeches, and ſome affirm it muſket-proof. There are many of them eighteen feet in length, and nine broad, and nothing is fitter, they ſay, for covering the tops of coaches.

Uſe of the ſkins.

The *French* have two porpoiſe fiſheries below *Quebec*; one in the bay of St *Paul*, the other ſeven or eight leagues lower, near a plantation called *Camouraſca*, from certain rocks riſing conſiderably above water. The expence of this fiſhery is but moderate, and the profits would amount to a conſiderable ſum, were it not for the inſtinct or caprice of thoſe animals, which often breaks the meaſures of the fiſhermen, by taking a road very different from the accuſtomed, or where the fiſhers expect them to come.

Porpoiſe fiſheries.

This fiſhery is moreover attended with two inconveniencies: The firſt is that it enriches none but the undertakers; and in the ſecond place, it has conſiderably diminiſhed that of eels, which uſed to be a very great reſource for the poorer ſort of inhabitants of this capital. For the porpoiſes being diſturbed below *Quebec*, have retired elſewhere; and the eels finding the paſſage clear of thoſe large fiſhes, deſcend the river without any obſtacle; from whence it is, that between *Quebec* and the *Trois Rivieres*, where they formerly took large quantities, there are now ſcarce any to be found.

Two inconveniences

The manner of taking porpoiſes is little different from that of the ſea-wolf. When the tide is low, they fix piles or ſtakes in the mud or ſand, at moderate intervals, to which they tie threads in the nature of toils, the opening of which is conſiderably large, in ſuch manner, as that the fiſh once entered cannot retreat. They take care to garniſh the tops of the ſtakes with green boughs. When the tide flows, theſe fiſhes purſuing the herring ſhoals, which conſtantly make to the ſhore, and attracted by the ſight of the verdure or boughs, with which they are highly delighted, find themſelves entangled in the net. As the tide goes out, the fiſhers have the entertainment of viewing their confuſion, and uſeleſs efforts to make their eſcape. In the end they are left dry, and often heaped one over another, ſo that two or three have been killed with the ſame blow. It has been aſſerted, that ſome of the white ſort have weighed three thouſand pounds.

Manner of taking porpoiſes

Every one knows the manner in which the whale is caught, for which reaſon I ſhall ſay nothing of it here. They tell us, that the *Baſques*, who formerly carried on this fiſhery in the river St *Laurence*, quitted it for the fur trade, which was capable of being managed at a much leſs expence, with infinitely leſs fatigue, and with much quicker and abundantly larger profits, at leaſt at that time. And beſides it muſt be acknowledged they wanted many conveniencies for this trade, which might now be had, by means of ſome ſettlements pretty far down along the coaſts of the gulf. With this view ſome attempts have been ſince made to reſtore this branch of commerce, but without ſucceſs; the undertakers either wanting the neceſſary funds for carrying it on, or not having perſeverance or patience to wait the proper time for the return of their diſburſements. It appears, however, that this fiſhery might become a very conſiderable article in the trade of this colony, as it may be carried on with much leſs hazard and expence than on the coaſts of *Greenland*; and might even become a ſettled and, in ſome meaſure, a domeſtic branch of commerce, according to the propoſal of M. *Denys*, a *French* gentleman, who has wrote on this ſubject.

Whale fiſhery unprofitable.

The other fiſhes taken in the ſalt water part of the river St *Laurence*, or from Cape *Tourment* to the gulf, and which are capable of adding to the wealth, convenience, and commerce of this colony, as well as of the mother country, are the ſalmon, tunny, ſhad, trouts, lampreys, ſmelts, ſea-eel, mackerel, ſoles, herrings, anchovies, pilchards, turbots,

Variety of fiſh in the river

turbots, and almoſt every fiſh found in any part of the ocean, and among thoſe many altogether unknown in *Europe*; all theſe are caught with dragging or with nets. In the gulf are ſcates; thornbacks; and thoſe of three ſorts, the common, the curled, of a better taſte than thoſe in *France*, and that called the Poſt, not much valued; lencornets, a kind of cuttle fiſh; the haddock, or St *Peter's* fiſh; plaice; requiems; ſea-dogs, a ſpecies of the requiems, leſs miſchievous in their lifetime, and much preferable when dead; and plenty of oyſters during the winter ſeaſon, eſpecially on the coaſts of *Nova Scotia*; the manner of fiſhing for which is ſingular enough. A hole is made in the ice, thro' which they put two poles tied together ſo as to clap like pincers; theſe are ſeldom brought up without oyſters. Oyſters how taken.

The Lencornet is a ſpecies of cuttle-fiſh, tho' very different in ſhape from the common cuttle. It is quite round, or rather oval; a little above the tail is a ſort of border, or ledge, which ſerves him for a buckler; and its head is ſurrounded with whiſkers, which he makes uſe of to catch other fiſhes. There are two ſorts of them, differing only in magnitude, one as large as a hogſhead, the other not above a foot in length; the latter are the only ſort taken, and are caught with a torch. They are very fond of a light, which being ſhewn them from the ſhore, they make towards it, and run themſelves aground. The lencornet, whether boiled, roaſted, or fryed, is very good eating, but it makes the ſauce quite black. Lencornet how caught.

The Haddock reſembles a ſmall cod, has much the ſame taſte, and is dried in the ſame manner. It has two black ſpots, one on each ſide the head, and the fiſhermen ſay this is the fiſh in which St *Peter* found the piece of money to pay the emperor's tribute for himſelf and our Lord, and that theſe ſpots are the places by which the Apoſtle held it. Hence it has been called *St Peter's fiſh*. Haddock deſcribed.

The ſea plaice has much firmer fleſh, and a better taſte, than thoſe taken in rivers. It is caught, as well as the houmarts, or lobſters, by means of long poles, armed at the point with a ſharp iron and barbed to hinder the fiſh from diſengaging itſelf. Plaice and lobſters, how caught.

In ſeveral places, eſpecially towards *Nova Scotia*, the pools are full of ſalmon trouts, a foot in length, and of turtles, or tortoiſes, two feet in diameter, the fleſh of which is excellent, and the upper ſcale ſtriped with white, red, and blue. Salmon trout, turtles.

Amongſt the fiſhes that abound in Lake *Champlain*, and the rivers that fall into it, *Champlain* mentions one of a very ſingular ſort which he calls *Chaouſarou*, probably the name given it by the *Indians*. It is a particular kind of armed fiſh, found in ſeveral other parts, pretty much of the form of a ſpit, and covered with a ſcale impenetrable to a dagger. Its colour is a ſilver grey, and there projects from under the throat a bony ſubſtance, flat, indented, hollow, and perforated at the end; whence it is reaſonable to think, that it breathes this way. This bone is covered with a tender ſkin, and its length is in proportion to the fiſh, of which this makes one third part. The *Indians* aſſured *Champlain*, that they had ſeen of thoſe fiſhes from eight to ten feet long; but the largeſt he ſaw did not exceed five, and were about as thick as a man's thigh. Chaouſarou a ſingular fiſh.

This animal is a true pirate amongſt other fiſhes, but, what is very ſurprizing, he is alſo an enemy to the birds, which, like an expert fowler, he catches in this manner: He conceals himſelf among the reeds, ſo that nothing can be diſcovered but his weapon, riſing perpendicularly above the ſurface of the water. The birds that light near him take it for a ſtick, or withered reed, and perch upon it without the leaſt apprehenſion of what is concealed beneath. That moment the foe in ambuſh opens his mouth, and ſeizes his prey with all the rapidity imaginable. The teeth on both ſides of this bone are pretty long, and very ſharp, and, as the *Indians* pretend, are a ſovereign remedy for the head-ach, and that by pricking the part moſt affected, the pain is immediately diſſipated. His way of catching birds.

The ſturgeon here is both a freſh and a ſalt-water fiſh, being taken both in the lakes and on the coaſts of *Canada*. There are of theſe fiſhes from eight to ten, and even twelve feet long, and thick in proportion. I omit to deſcribe this fiſh, which is well known in *Europe*. The *Indians* catch them in this manner: Two men ſtand, one at each end of a canoe; he at the ſtern ſteers, whilſt the other at the head ſtands ready with a dart tied to a cord, the other end of which is made faſt to the boat. As ſoon as he perceives the ſturgeon, he darts it at him, endeavouring as much as he can to direct Sturgeon how caught.

it contrary to the inclination of the ſcales. The moment he perceives himſelf wounded, he ſcuds away with all his ſpeed, dragging the boat after him with an amazing rapidity. After running about two hundred paces in this manner, he generally dies, and is taken.

Fiſh in vaſt plenty and variety.

In a word, that I may make an end of this article, the river *St Laurence* breeds ſeveral fiſhes entirely unknown in *France*; the moſt eſteemed of theſe are the Achigan and Gilthead. The other rivers of *Canada*, and eſpecially thoſe of *Nova Scotia*, are no leſs replenithed than this river, which abounds with the greateſt plenty and variety of the moſt excellent ſort of fiſhes of any other perhaps on the globe, there being, in ſome ſeaſons, fiſh ſufficient to maintain all the inhabitants of the colony.

Beaver, a ſingular quadruped.

As to quadrupeds, the moſt ſingular, and what excites the curioſity of the reader above any other in this country, is the caſtor, or beaver. The ſpoils of this animal have hitherto been the chief object of the commerce to this colony. This creature is beſides in itſelf a miracle of nature, and there is not to be found, perhaps in the whole creation, ſo ſtriking an example of foreſight, induſtry, cunning, and patience in labour.

European beaver.

The caſtor, or beaver, was probably not unknown in *Europe* before the diſcovery of *America*; and there are now to be ſeen, amongſt the ancient charters of the hatters of *Paris*, regulations for the manufacture of beaver hats. The beaver, or caſtor, is undoubtedly the ſame animal; but whether it is, that the *European* beaver is grown very ſcarce, or that its fur is not of ſo good a quality as that of the *American*, this latter is the only ſort now in repute, the other being never ſo much as mentioned, except with relation to the ſimple called *caſtoreum*. It is not improbable, that the *European* beaver is a ſort of land beaver, which is very different from the other.

American beaver deſcribed.

The beaver of *Canada* is an amphibious animal, incapable of remaining any conſiderable time in water, and very able to ſubſiſt without it, provided it has now and then the conveniency of bathing. The largeſt beavers are ſomewhat leſs than four feet in length, by fifteen inches in breadth from haunch to haunch, and weigh ſixty pounds. The colour varies according to the different climates where they are found. In the moſt diſtant Northern parts they are generally quite black, though white ones are ſometimes to be ſeen in the ſame region. They are brown in more temperate climates, their colour growing lighter in proportion as you advance Southwards. In the country of the *Ilinois* they are almoſt quite yellow, and ſome have been found here of a pale or ſtraw-colour. It has been remarked, that the lighter the colour, the thinner commonly the fur, and conſequently the black is moſt eſteemed, nature fortifying them in this manner againſt the ſeverity of the weather. There are two different ſorts of fur all over the body, excepting near the feet, where there is but one ſort, and that very ſhort. The longeſt is from eight to ten lines, and even to two inches on the back, diminiſhing towards the tail and head. This ſort of hair is coarſe, thick, ſhining, and is what gives the animal its colour. Seen through a microſcope, the middle is found leſs opaque, whence it is natural to ſuppoſe it hollow, and therefore this ſort is not in uſe. The other is an extremely fine down, very cloſe, and an inch at moſt in length; and this ſort is what is commonly uſed. It was formerly known in *Europe* by the name of *Muſcovy wool*. This is properly the garment of the beaver, the other ſerving only for ornament, and perhaps to aſſiſt him in ſwimming.

The female beaver.

It has been aſſerted, that this animal lives from fifteen to twenty years, that the female goes with young four months, and that ſhe generally brings forth four at a time, and ſome travellers have increaſed the number to eight; but this muſt happen very rarely. She has four teats, two between the ſecond and third pair of long ribs, and two others about four fingers higher.

Anatomy of the beaver.

The muſcles of this animal are extremely ſtrong, and thicker than its bulk ſeems to require. On the contrary, its inteſtines are exceeding delicate, its bones very hard, and its two jaws, which are nearly equal, have a vaſt force. Each jaw is ſet with ten teeth, two of them incitive, or cutters, and eight molar, or grinders. The upper inciſives are two inches and a half long, the lower ſomething above three, ſuited to the inclination of the jaw, which give them a force aſtoniſhing in ſo ſmall a creature. It has been remarked, that the two jaws are not exactly correſpondent, the upper jutting out beyond the lower, like the blades of a pair of ſciſſars; and, laſtly, that the length of every tooth is exactly one third of its root.

The

The head of the beaver is much like that of the mountain rat; the muzzle somewhat long; the eyes little; the ears very short, round, hairy without, but smooth within; the legs short, especially the fore legs, being not above four or five inches long, and very much resembling those of the badger. The nails are cut sloping, and hollow like goose-quills. The hind feet are quite different, being flat, and provided with membranes between the toes. Hence the beaver walks but awkwardly, and very slowly, but swims with the same facility as other aquatic animals. In respect of his tail, he is a perfect fish, and has been judicially declared such by the College of Physicians at *Paris*; and the faculty of divinity have, in consequence of this declaration, pronounced it lawful to be eaten on days of fasting. External parts

This sort of food is, however, at too great a distance from the *French* to enable them to profit by this toleration, and they very rarely meet with any that is eatable. The *Indians* keep it by them, after curing it in the chimney, but it is, by all accounts, intolerably bad. And, even when it is fresh, you are obliged to give it a boiling, to make it lose a little of the disagreeable taste it naturally has, after which it becomes very good eating; and no sort of flesh, they say, exceeds it in deliciousness or lightness of digestion; it is even asserted to be as nourishing as veal. When boiled, it wants something to give it a relish; but, when roasted, it is very good, without any thing of that kind. Considered as food

The most remarkable part belonging to this animal is its tail. It is almost oval, about four inches broad near the root, five in the middle, and three at its extremity; but these measures are to be understood of the largest sort of beavers; it is about an inch in thickness, and a foot long. Its substance is a firm sort of fat, or a tender cartilage, being much like the flesh of a porpoise, but grows harder, when kept for any time. It is covered with a scaly skin, the scales of which are of an hexagonal form, half a line in thickness, by three or four lines in length, and laid over one another, like those of all fishes. A very delicate pellicle serves to support them, and they are inserted in it in such a manner, as to be easily parted from it after the death of the animal. Singular texture of the tail

The true testicles of this animal were entirely unknown to the ancients, probably because they are very small, and much hid under the haunches. They gave this name to the receptacles of the *castoreum*, which are very different, and in number four, being situated in the lower venter of the beaver. The two foremost, called the upper, because higher than the others, are in the shape of a pear, and communicate one with the other, like the pockets of a knapsack; the other two, called the lower, are round towards the bottom. These four receptacles contain a resinous, soft, and adhesive liquor, mixed with small fibres, of a greyish colour on the outside, yellowish within, of a strong, penetrating, and disagreeable smell, and very inflammable; and this is the true *castoreum*. It grows hard after being a month exposed to the air, and becomes brown, brittle, and friable. If there be occasion to harden it sooner, it may be done by hanging it in the chimney. Testicles

Castoreum, and its receptacles.

It is pretended, that the *castoreum* which comes from *Dantzic* is preferable to that of *Canada*. The bags of this last sort are allowed to be much smaller than the others; but, even in *Canada*, the largest are much more esteemed. It is required besides in *castoreum*, that the bags be heavy, of a brown colour, of a penetrating and strong smell, and full of a hard, brittle, and friable matter, of the same, or of a yellowish colour, interwoven with a very fine membrane, and of a sharp or acrid taste. Properties and choice of

The medical virtues of this drug are, to attenuate viscous matter, fortify the brain, dispel vapours, provoke the menses, prevent mortification, and evacuate ill humours by perspiration. It is also used with success against the epilepsy, or falling sickness, palsy, apoplexy, and deafness. The inferior bags contain an unctuous and fattish liquor, which resembles honey. Its colour is a pale yellow, its smell disagreeable, little differing from that of the *castoreum*, but weaker than that. It thickens with time, and takes the consistence of tallow. Medical virtues

The notion of those who believe that this animal, when he is closely pursued, bites off those imagined testicles, abandoning them to the hunter, to preserve his life, is an error now universally exploded, the most valuable part of this animal being, beyond comparison, his fur; and even the skin of the beaver, after the fur has been taken off, is not without its uses, as it serves to make gloves and spatterdashes. Many other things Its skin

may be made of it, but as it is very difficult to take off the hair without cutting it, the ſkin of the land beaver is only uſed, and for the purpoſes aforeſaid.

Two ſorts of caſtor. There are two ſorts of caſtor, the dry and the fat. The firſt is the ſkin of this animal, before any uſe has been made of it. The other, or fat caſtor, is the ſame ſkin, after it has been worn by the *Indians*, who, after they have well rubbed and worked it on the inſide, with the marrow or fat of certain animals, to render it more pliable, ſow ſeveral ſkins together, with which they cover themſelves as with a robe, with the outſide inwards; this they conſtantly wear in the winter, without ever putting it off, night or day. The ſtrongeſt hair falls off preſently, but the down remains, and by being worn in that manner, becomes much fitter for the hatter's buſineſs. The dry caſtor cannot be uſed without the mixture of a little fat. It is even pretended, that to have the ſkins in their utmoſt perfection, they ought to be worn eighteen months at leaſt.

Stuffs made of fur and wool. There have alſo been ſtuffs made of this fur, with a mixture of wool amongſt it, ſuch as cloths, flannels, ſtockings, and ſuch like, but with very little ſucceſs; and there ſtill ſubſiſts a manufacture of this ſort in *Holland*; but as they are obliged to mix more than one half of wool with the fur, there is little or nothing to be gained by it. The cloths and druggets which the *Dutch* make of this ſort are very dear, and do not wear well. The caſtor very ſoon parts from the wool, and forms a ſort of pile on the ſurface of the ſtuff, which entirely ſpoils the look of it; and the ſtockings which the *French* make of it have the ſame defect.

Admirable qualities of beavers. The induſtry, foreſight, order, and unanimity of theſe animals are perfectly ſurprizing, exhibiting to mankind a leſſon of thoſe virtues no way inferior to that of the ant or bees, ſo juſtly admired. It is uncertain how they are governed, whether by a king or a queen, if it be true, that they have any magiſtrates at all; nor is there any more grounds to believe that there is any one who takes the chief command upon him, when they are at work, to puniſh the lazy. Thus much, however, is undoubted, that by means of that admirable inſtinct wherewith providence has endowed them, each of them knows what he is to do, and every thing is carried on in the exacteſt order imaginable, and without the leaſt embarraſsment or confuſion.

Choice of habitation. When they propoſe to build a new habitation, they firſt aſſemble, to the number of three or four hundred in one place, forming a ſmall republic, or ſtate, apart by themſelves. The firſt bill they paſs is, to make choice of a ſettlement, where they may find plenty of proviſions, with all the materials neceſſary for the intended edifice. The main thing neceſſary is to ſecure a ſupply of water; and if they are not happy enough to find either lake or pool within their territories, this defect is remedied by ſtopping the courſe of ſome rivulet, or ſmall river, by means of a dyke. In order to effect this, they ſet about felling of timber, and this always above the place where they are reſolved to build, for the more commodious tranſporting it. Three or four beavers ſet about felling a large tree, which they very ſoon effect by means of their teeth, which ſerve them for ſaws and axes, as well as for ſeveral other carpenter's tools. They never forget to make it fall on the ſide towards the water, in order to ſhorten the land carriage after they have cut it into proper lengths, which are afterwards rolled to the water ſide, and thence floated to the place where they are to be employed.

Manner of building. Theſe pieces are more or leſs in thickneſs or length, as the nature and ſituation of the place require; for theſe architects foreſee every thing. Sometimes they make uſe of trunks of large trees, which they lay lengthwiſe; at others, the mound is compoſed of pieces of timber no thicker than a man's thigh, and even ſometimes not ſo thick, which are ſupported by very good ſtakes, and interwoven with ſmall branches, and the void places are every where ſtopped up with a fat or clayey ſort of earth, and that ſo well wrought as not to admit the ſmalleſt drop of water. This loam, or mortar, the beavers prepare and temper with their fore feet; the trowels they make uſe of are their tails, which, however, are not confined to this uſe only, but alſo ſerve them as a dray, or wheelbarrow, to convey their mortar from place to place. As ſoon as they arrive at the water ſide, they take hold of this clayey matter with their teeth, and, in order to lay it on, they make uſe firſt of their feet, and afterwards plaiſter or ſmooth it with their tails.

Dimenſions of the dykes. Theſe dykes are generally ten or twelve feet thick at the foundation, diminiſhing ſtill in proportion as they riſe in height, till at laſt they come to the thickneſs of two or three. Good proportion is their particular care and concern, and every thing is done with as much exactneſs, as if the ableſt artiſt had performed it with his rule and compaſſes.

compaſſes. One thing remarkable is, that the ſide of the building towards the water is always built with a talus, or ſlope, that on the other being exactly perpendicular. In a word, nothing can poſſibly be more ſolid or regular than the works of this moſt ſagacious animal.

Of their cabbins. The conſtruction of their cabbins is no leſs wonderful. Theſe are commonly built on piles in the middle of thoſe ſmall lakes, which are formed by the dykes abovementioned, and oftentimes on the bank of ſome river, or at the extremity of ſome point that advances into the water. Their figure is round, or oval, and they are arched in manner of a baſket. The walls are two foot thick, the materials being the ſame as thoſe of their dams, but leſs ſubſtantial. The whole is ſo well ſtucco'd with clay, as not to admit the leaſt breath of air. Two thirds of the building are above water, and in them every beaver has his particular place aſſigned him, which he takes care to ſtrew well with leaves, or ſmall branches of fir. The leaſt filth is never ſeen; for, beſides the common entry of the cabbin, and another outlet by which thoſe animals go out to bathe, there are alſo ſeveral other openings, by which they go to diſcharge themſelves. Theſe cabbins are generally capable of lodging eight or ten beavers, and ſome have been obſerved to contain no leſs than thirty; but this is very rare. All of them, however, are near enough to each other to have a very eaſy communication.

Their proviſion againſt winter. The winter never ſurprizes the beaver: All the works I have mentioned are finiſhed by the latter end of *September*, when each individual lays up his winter proviſion. Whilſt they continue to frequent the woods or fields, they live on fruits, and on the bark and leaves of trees. They alſo catch cray-fiſh, and ſome other fiſh; and nothing comes amiſs to them at that ſeaſon. But when the time comes, in which they are to provide againſt the barrenneſs of the cold ſeaſon, they are ſatisfied with woods of a tender ſubſtance, ſuch as the poplar and the aſp, and the like. Theſe they lay up in piles, diſpoſing them in ſuch manner as to have thoſe pieces which have been ſteeped in water neareſt at hand. It has been obſerved, that theſe piles are always greater or leſs in proportion as the enſuing winter is to be more or leſs long or ſevere; and this is to the *Indians* the moſt infallible prognoſtication, which has never been known to deceive them, with reſpect to the duration of the cold weather. The beavers, before they eat this wood, cut it into very ſmall pieces, which they carry into their apartments; for there is but one magazine for the whole inhabitants, or family of each cabbin. An infallible prognoſtic.

When the melting of the ſnow is at the higheſt, at which ſeaſon there are always very great land floods, the beavers quit their cabbins, which are then utterly uninhabitable, every one going where he thinks fit. As ſoon as the waters are fallen the females return, and then they bring forth their young. The males keep the fields till towards the month of *July*, when they aſſemble in order to repair the breaches made by the waters in their cabbins, or dykes; if they happen to be deſtroyed by the hunters, or if they are not worth repairing, to erect new. But they are often, and for very good reaſons, obliged to change the place of their abode: The moſt common is, the want of proviſions; and ſometimes they are obliged to take this method by the hunters, or certain carnivorous animals, againſt which they have no other defence than flight. When obliged to quit their cabbins.

There are certain places of which the beavers are particularly fond, and will never abandon, even ſhould their ſafety ever ſo much require it. On the road from *Montreal* to Lake *Huron*, near the great river, we never fail to diſcover a ſettlement every year in the very ſame place, which theſe animals repair or re-build conſtantly every ſummer. For the firſt thing the travellers who arrive earlieſt ſet about is, to deſtroy the cabbin, as well as the dyke which conveys the water to it. Had not this dyke retained the water, they would never have been able to continue their journey, but neceſſitated to take a trip over land. Hence thoſe beavers ſeem as if they had ſeized on this ſpot only to be of ſervice to thoſe who travel that way. I have been told, that near *Quebec* there is much ſuch an inſtance, where the beavers, by means of their dam, ſupply water to a ſaw-mill. Their attachment to certain places.

The *Indians* were formerly of opinion, that the beavers were a ſort of reaſonable creatures, with a language, laws, and form of government peculiar to themſelves; and that this amphibious commonwealth choſe governors, whoſe office it was to aſſign each private beaver his ſeparate talk, place centinels to give the alarm on ſight of the enemy, and to puniſh or baniſh the drones. Their ſuppoſed government.

Thoſe pretended exiles were probably no other than the land beavers, who really live ſeparate from the others, do no manner of work, and lodge under ground, where they

have no other care but to make themſelves a ſecret paſſage to the water. Theſe are known by the thinneſs of the fur upon their backs, which is, no doubt, occaſioned by their rubbing themſelves continually againſt the earth of their holes: beſides, they are always lean, the natural conſequence of their lazineſs, and are much more frequent in hot than in cold countries. I have already remarked, that our beavers here in *Europe* reſemble this latter much more than the former ſort, as they retire into the holes and caverns they find on the banks of rivers, eſpecially in *Poland*. They are alſo found in *Germany*, along the *Elb*; and, in *France*, on the *Rhone*, the *Iſere*, and the *Oiſe*. What is certain is, that you do not diſcover that wonderful ſagacity in the *European* beavers, for which thoſe of *Canada* are ſo juſtly celebrated.

Beavers broke ſometimes before the arrival of the *Europeans*

It does not appear, that the *Canadian Indians* gave theſe creatures much diſturbance before the arrival of the *Europeans* in their country. The ſkins of theſe animals were not then ſo much worn by them as they have ſince been, and the fleſh of bears, and ſome other wild beaſts, was much more in requeſt with them than that of beavers. They were, however, even then accuſtomed to hunt them, and this hunting had its fixed ſeaſon and its eſtabliſhed form and ceremony; but as it was only the effect of pure neceſſity, and not of luxury, the havock made by it was very inſignificant. For this reaſon, there was an amazing quantity of thoſe animals when the *French* firſt entered *Canada*.

Hunting the beaver

The hunting of the beaver is not at all difficult, as this animal has neither ſtrength to defend himſelf, and as the cunning he diſcovers in building his habitation totally forſakes him when he is attacked by any enemy. The winter is the ſeaſon in which the *Indians* declare war againſt him, then it is that his fur is thickeſt, and the ſkin much thinner than at any other ſeaſon.

This hunting is performed in four different manners, which are that of the net, the gun, the tranche, and the trap. The firſt is rarely put in execution, and the ſecond

Net and gun ſeldom

ſeldom or never uſed, as the eyes of this creature, though extremely ſmall, are ſo piercing, and his hearing ſo quick, that it is very difficult to get near enough to ſhoot him, before he has reached the water, and he never goes far from it at this ſeaſon, and plunges to the bottom the moment he diſcovers any danger near. And even if he ſhould happen to be wounded, the hunter would be equally at a loſs, as he never fails to run to the water, and never comes up again after he has once dived, ſhould he chance to die of the wound. The tranche and the trap are therefore the methods moſt in uſe in this exerciſe.

Notwithſtanding the beaver lays up his ſtore of proviſion for the winter, he now and then makes excurſions into the neighbouring woods in queſt of more tender and delicate food; and this luxury often coſts him his life. The *Indians* lay ſnares in his way,

Traps

much reſembling the figure 4, which they bait with ſmall pieces of wood that is tender and newly cut. The beaver no ſooner touches it, than his back is broke with a huge log which falls upon him, and the hunter inſtantly coming up, ſoon diſpatches him.

Tranche

The tranche requires greater precaution, and is managed as follows: when the ice is as yet but about half a foot thick, an opening is made in it with a hatchet, and the beaver makes to this opening for the ſake of breathing a little freſh air; the hunter, who waits for him, eaſily knows when he is coming, as his breathing cauſes an unuſual motion in the water, and it is very eaſy to knock him on the head the moment he raiſes it above it. To prevent his diſcovering the hunters, they ſtrew over the hole with reeds, or with the ears of reed-mace, and when they find the animal within reach, they ſeize him by one of his feet, and throw him upon the ice, where they diſpatch him before he is recovered from his ſurprize.

Net laid

If the burrow happens to be near ſome ſtream, the buſineſs is ſtill eaſier. The way is then to cut the ice quite acroſs from ſide to ſide, in order to lay a net in it, and then fall to breaking down the neſt or cabbin. The beavers never fail to run to the water, where they are taken in the net laid for them. There is, however, ſome danger in letting it remain too long, in which caſe theſe creatures ſoon find means to recover their liberty.

Other

Thoſe who inhabit the lakes have, at the diſtance of about three or four hundred paces from the water ſide, a ſort of country houſes, where they retire ſometimes for the benefit of the air. In this caſe the hunters divide into two bodies, one of which beats up the quarters of thoſe in the country whilſt the others fall upon the habitations of the lake. Now the beavers in the former abode, for the ſportſmen generally take the

time when they are all in the country, fly for ſanctuary to the other, where they find nothing but ruin and a cloud of duſt, raiſed on purpoſe to blind them, and to make them an eaſier prey to their enemies. In ſome places they content themſelves with digging a hole in their dams, by which means the ditch that ſurrounds them is ſoon drained, their iſland is robbed of its chief defence, and they muſt ſubmit to fate. Or, in caſe they ſhould ſtrive to remedy the evil, as they often do, the cauſe of which is entirely unknown to them, they fall generally into the hands of the enemy.

It has been ſaid, that when the beavers find themſelves purſued by hunters, or ſome of thoſe beaſts of prey that generally make war againſt them, they ruſh into the water, which they lath with their tails in ſuch a manner that the noiſe is heard at half a league diſtance. The reaſon of this is probably to give the alarm to their friends, who may be abroad in the ſame manner, without knowing their danger. They are ſaid alſo, to have ſo quick a ſcent, as to diſcover a canoe at an immenſe diſtance; but that, like the hare, they ſee only ſideways, which defect often occaſions their falling into the hands of thoſe they ſtrive to ſhun. There is another particularity related of the beaver, which would make us believe, that, in imitation of the turtle, after loſing his female, he never cohabits with another; ſo that ſecond marriages, it ſeems, are as much in abomination among beavers, as they were formerly among the primitive Chriſtians.

There is alſo another ſmall animal in *Canada*, of much the ſame nature with the beaver, and which appears in ſome reſpects to be the ſame ſort of quadruped, but of a ſmaller ſpecies; I mean the Muſk-Rat. This creature has, in fact, all the qualities of the beaver; the ſtructure of the body and eſpecially of the head is in both ſo very much alike, that one would naturally take the muſk rat for a ſmall beaver, if the tail of the firſt be excepted, as it is much like that of ours in *Europe*, as alſo the teſticles, which contain a perfume of an exquiſite odour. This animal, which weighs about four pounds, is very like the *Mus Alpinus*, of Mr *Ray*.

The muſk-rat takes the field in the month of *March*, and its nouriſhment is then ſome pieces of wood, which he peels before he eats them. After the melting of the ſnows he lives on roots of nettles, and afterwards regales himſelf with the ſtems and leaves of this plant. In ſummer he touches nothing but brambles and ſtrawberries, to which ſucceed the other fruits peculiar to the autumn. During all this time it is very rare to find the male and female apart from each other.

At the coming on of winter they ſeparate, each going his own way to take up his lodging in ſome hole or hollow of a tree, without any proviſion, and the *Indians* aſſure us, that they maintain a perfect abſtinence as long as the cold laſts. They alſo build huts nearly in the ſame form as the beavers, but far inferior workmanſhip. As to the ſituation, it is always near the water, ſo that they are under no neceſſity to build dams.

It is ſaid that the fur of the muſk-rat is uſed in the making of hats mixed with that of the beaver, without doing any prejudice to the manufacture; the fleſh is tolerably good, except in time of rut, at which ſeaſon it is impoſſible to remove from it ſomething of the taſte of muſk, which is by no means ſo agreeable to the palate as it is to the ſmell.

The Bear was formerly the animal moſt in vogue amongſt the *Indians* of *North America*, till the arrival of the *Europeans* turned the ſcale in favour of the beaver. Hunting the bear was a kind of religious ſolemnity, and ſuperſtition had a great ſhare in this exerciſe, the manner whereof, among ſuch of the *Indians* as have not been converted to chriſtianity, is as follows:

It is always ſome warrior chief, that appoints the time of hunting, and who is to invite the hunters. This invitation, which is performed with a great deal of ceremony, is followed by a faſt of ten days continuance, during which they are not to take ſo much as a drop of water. This whole time, notwithſtanding the extreme weakneſs to which they are reduced by it, is employed in ſinging. The intention of this rigorous ceremony, is to obtain of the Genii, the knowledge of the place where the greateſt number of bears are to be found. There are ſeveral of them who endure ſtill more, in order to obtain this grace; and ſome of them have been known to cut their fleſh in different parts of their bodies, with a view to render thoſe Genii propitious. But it is to be remembered, that they require no manner of aſſiſtance to overcome thoſe furious animals; it ſuffices that they know the places of their abode.

It is with the ſame view, they addreſs their vows to the manes, or ſouls of the defunct bears, which they have killed in their former huntings, and as this is the only ſubject of their meditation during theſe vigils, they naturally from the emptineſs of their ſtomachs, dream

dream of thoſe animals. This however is not yet enough to determine them, for every man of the canton, or at leaſt much the greater part of them, muſt alſo have dreamt of ſeeing bears, and that in their own diſtrict. Now it is next to impoſſible ſo many dreams ſhould agree; to bring this to paſs therefore is the next embarraſſment, which is generally removed, when ſome huntſman of reputation happens to dream two or three times ſucceſſively of ſeeing thoſe beaſts in a certain place. Whether thro' complaiſance, or hearing the ſame thing often repeated, they all preſently fall to dreaming after him, or at leaſt pretend to do ſo, and that quarter is immediately fixt upon for the place of hunting.

As ſoon as the faſt is over, and the place of hunting agreed upon, the chief elect who is to have the command in it, gives a magnificent repaſt to all thoſe who are to be of the party, and no perſon dares to preſent himſelf at it, before he has firſt bathed himſelf, which is generally by throwing himſelf into the river, provided only it be not frozen, let the weather be never ſo ſevere. They are not obliged at this feaſt to eat up every thing, as in ſome others, and they all obſerve great ſobriety. He who does the honours touches nothing, his ſole employment, whilſt the others are at table, is to make the panegyric of his own feats in former huntings. The feſtival ends with new invocations of the manes of the bears departed. They then take the field all daubed over with black in the ſame manner as when they go to war, amidſt the acclamations of the whole village.

Thus hunting is in no leſs reputation amongſt the *Indians*, than war; and an alliance with a good huntſman is more coveted, than that of a famous warrior, becauſe this exerciſe furniſhes the family with all the neceſſaries of life, at leaſt, with all that they reckon as ſuch, that is, with food and cloathing. But this character of a great huntſman is not eaſily acquired, for before you are reckoned ſo, you muſt have killed at leaſt twelve large beaſts in one day.

The *Indians* have two conſiderable advantages beyond us in *Europe*; for, in the firſt place, no obſtacle is capable of ſtopping them, neither thickets, ditches, marſhes, nor rivers. Their way is always the neareſt, that is, forwards in a direct line. Then there is no animal, how fleet ſoever, which they cannot overtake by mere ſwiftneſs of foot. And we are told, that it is common enough for them to come home leading a drove of bears into their village like a flock of ſheep; and that the ſwifteſt deer, though I will not venture this on my own authority, is not ſwifter than they.

Formerly the hunter had little benefit from his abundance; every one took what ſhare of the ſpoil he pleaſed, leaving the proprietor little beſides the glory of labouring for the public advantage. He was, however, at liberty to make his own family a preſent of the firſt fruits. This was the cuſtom formerly, till the arrival of the *Europeans*, whoſe ill example has in a great meaſure deſtroyed this ancient and moſt commendable ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs, leaving them their own ſelfiſhneſs in exchange.

The ſeaſon for hunting the bear is in the winter, when theſe animals retreat into the hollows of trees, or, when they find them fallen down, make themſelves a den with the root, the entry of which they fill with branches of fir, where they are perfectly ſecure from the ſeverity of the weather. If they ſhould fail of either of thoſe conveniencies, they dig themſelves a hole in the earth, taking particular care, after they have retired into it, to ſtop the mouth; and this they do ſo well as ſometimes to elude the cloſeſt ſearch. But, however they happen to be lodged, it is certain, they never once ſtir out the whole winter. It is equally true, that they carry in with them no manner of proviſion; ſo that all this long ſeaſon the bear neither eats nor drinks. All he does is conſtantly licking his paws, which are ſaid by ſome to afford a ſubſtance from whence he draws all his nouriſhment. Every one, however, is at liberty to judge of it as he thinks fit, though it is undeniably true, that the experiment has been made by chaining up one of thoſe animals for a whole winter, without affording him the leaſt nouriſhment, and at the end of ſix months he has been found as fat as in the beginning.

There is no need of much courſing to take the bear; the only thing required is to find out the place of their retreat in any conſiderable number. When the hunters imagine they have diſcovered their haunts, they form a large circle of a quarter of a league round, more or leſs, in proportion to the number of hunters. They afterwards advance drawing nearer one another, every one making ſtrict ſearch as he goes for the retreat of theſe animals. Hence, if there be any lodged in all this ſpace, it is difficult for them to eſcape, the *Indians* being excellent ferrets. On the morrow the hunting begins after the ſame manner, and ſo continues from day to day while the ſeaſon laſts.

As

As ſoon as a bear is killed, the hunter puts the end of his lighted pipe into his mouth, and blowing at the head of it till the bear's throat and wind-pipe are full of the ſmoke, conjures his ſpirit not to be angry for what injury he has done his body, and not to oppoſe his ſucceſs in his future huntings. The huntſman, to know whether his requeſt is granted, cuts the ſtring or membrane under the tongue of the bear, which he keeps till he returns to the village, when all of the party, after many invocations, and a deal of ceremony, throw thoſe expiations into the fire. If thoſe membranes crackle and ſhrink, as how ſhould it be otherwiſe, it is looked upon as a certain ſign that the angry ſpirits of the bears are appeaſed; if otherwiſe, it is concluded they are ſtill wroth, and that the hunting of the enſuing ſeaſon will be unproſperous, at leaſt till they have found means to render them propitious; for there is no inconvenience which they cannot remove by ſome religious ceremony. Ceremonious obſervances after hunting.

The hunters live well while the ſeaſon laſts, and if they have any ſucceſs at all, they bring home ſufficient to feaſt their friends, and to maintain their families for a conſiderable time. The fleſh of this animal, ſmoked in the chimney, is eſteemed good eating by the *Indians*, tho' it would hardly go down with an *European*. Preferable game.

The reception the ſportſmen meet with on their return, is every way worthy of the high notion they entertain of this exerciſe. Nothing is to be heard but the praiſes of thoſe heroes, who wear ſuch an air of importance and ſelf-ſufficiency, as if they were returning loaden with the ſpoils of a conquered enemy. A grand repaſt is given on this occaſion, and to leave none of the viands ſerved in it, affords another ſtrong ſubject of vanity and panegyric. The perſon who had the honour to be the director of the hunting, is the diſpenſer of this treat, and the firſt diſh is the bear of the largeſt ſize, which is ſerved up whole, with his entrails, and without ſo much as flaying it, for they chuſe to dreſs the fleſh in the ſkin, as we do that of hogs. This feaſt is dedicated to a certain genius, whoſe wrath they believe they ſhould incur, were they to leave the leaſt morſel. They are not ſo much as to leave the broth in which the carcaſe has been boiled, tho' it be nothing but the fat melted and reduced to a perfect oil. Nothing can be worſe food than this, which always proves mortal to one or other of the gueſts on this occaſion, and many of them find themſelves very much indiſpoſed after theſe unwholeſome repaſts. The chief hunter's feaſt.

The bear is not a dangerous animal in *Canada*, except when he is hungry, or after he has been wounded. It is proper, however, to be always upon your guard when you approach him. They are ſeldom known to attack any perſon, and they generally take to flight on ſeeing a man, a dog being all that is neceſſary to drive them to a great diſtance. Bears not dangerous in *Canada*.

In the month of *July* the bear is in rut, at which time his fleſh is ſo lean, and of ſo diſagreeable a taſte and ſmell, that even the *Indians*, who have not the moſt delicate palates, will ſcarce touch it. He is alſo at this time ſo fierce, that it is dangerous to come near him. After this he recovers his complexion, by means of the fruits he then finds every where in the woods, and of which he is extremely greedy. The grape in particular is his favourite diſh, for which he will climb to the top of the talleſt trees; but ſhould a hunter perceive him, he is ſure to pay for it with his life. After he has fed a conſiderable time on thoſe fruits, his fleſh acquires an excellent reliſh, which it preſerves till the ſpring, though it has always a remarkable defect, from its extreme oilineſs, which, if not uſed with great moderation, never fails to occaſion the dyſentery. It is, however, very nouriſhing, and a bear's cub is reckoned, by thoſe who have eat of this ſort of food, not at all inferior to lamb. Their fleſh conſidered as food.

The *Indians* always carry a great number of dogs with them when they go a hunting, which are the only domeſtic animals they keep, and are deſtined for this uſe only. Theſe, in appearance, are all of the ſame ſpecies, with erect ears, their muzzle ſomewhat long, like that of the wolf, and remarkable for their fidelity and affection to their maſters, who never careſs, and, in other reſpects, take but very ill care of them. They are trained early to the exerciſe for which they are intended, and are indeed excellent hunters. *Indian* dogs of the game.

The Elk is an animal formerly common in *North America*, and of as much utility, with reſpect to trade, as the beaver itſelf, had they not been extirpated, or at leaſt driven very far from the *European* colonies by thoſe who went to ſettle in thoſe parts. What is called in *Canada* the elk, goes by the name of the Elan, or Great Beaſt, in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Ruſſia*. This animal is of the ſize of a horſe, or of a mule of *Auvergne* in *France*; is very broad over the hind parts; his tail no longer than one's Elk described.

finger; the haunches very high, with the legs and feet of a ſtag; the withers, neck, and upper part of the thighs are covered with long hair; the head is more than two foot long, which he ſtretches out lengthwiſe before him, giving himſelf by that means a very ungraceful appearance; the muzzle is thick, and bends downwards almoſt like that of the camel; and the noſtrils are ſo prodigiouſly wide, that you may thruſt your fiſt and half your arm into them. His antlers are as long as thoſe of the ſtag, and much more ſpreading; they are flat and forked, like thoſe of a doe, and ſhoot anew every year.

Virtues of his hoof.

It has been ſaid, that the elk is ſubject to the epilepſy, or falling ſickneſs, and that, when the fit ſeizes him, he recovers himſelf by ſcratching his ear with his left hind foot till the blood comes. This tradition probably gave occaſion to believe the hoof of this animal a ſpecific againſt that diſorder. It is applied to the heart of the patient, which is alſo practiſed to cure an extraordinary palpitation. It is alſo given into the patient's left hand, to rub his ear with it in like manner; though I ſhould think it requiſite, in order to expect the ſame effect as in the caſe of the animal, to rub it, as he does, till the blood comes. This hoof, when taken in powder, or infuſed in water, is reckoned very good for the pleuriſy, colic pains, the flux, vertigo, and purples. It is ſaid, that the *Algonquins*, who formerly fed on the fleſh of this animal, were very ſubject to the falling ſickneſs, but that they did not make uſe of this remedy, probably becauſe they were acquainted with a better.

Uſes of his hair, ſkin, and fleſh.

The ſkin of the elk is a mixture of a light grey and a dark red. The hair of it becomes hollow, as the beaſt grows old, and never ſheds, nor loſes its elaſtic or ſpringy virtue; for let it be depreſſed with ever ſo much care, it always riſes up again; it is commonly uſed for matraſſes, and ſtuffing of ſaddles. The fleſh of the elk is of an exquiſite reliſh, light, and very nouriſhing, and it would really be a matter much to be regretted, did it communicate the king's evil, as ſome have imagined. The *French* hunters, who have lived whole winters on it, declare they never felt the ſmalleſt inclination to this diſorder. His ſkin is very ſtrong, and of an oily ſoftneſs; it is dreſſed like ſhammy leather, and makes excellent buff-coats, which are very light.

Indian notion of the elk.

The *Indians* look upon the elk as an animal of good omen, and believe that thoſe who dream often of it will be very long lived. They have a very different notion of the bear, except when they are going to hunt thoſe animals. They have alſo a tradition amongſt them, which is ſingular enough, that there is one of thoſe elks ſo much in ſize above all others, that, in compariſon of him, the reſt appear like ſo many piſmires. His legs, ſay they, are ſo tall, that eight feet of ſnow is no manner of inconvenience to him. His ſkin is proof againſt all ſorts of weapons, and he has an arm proceeding from one of his ſhoulders, which he uſes in the ſame manner as a man. He is never without a great number of other elks in his retinue, who form his court, and do him all manner of ſervices. Thus the ancients had their *Phœnix* and *Pegaſus*, and the *Chineſe* and *Japaneſe* their *Kirin*, their *Foe*, their *Water Dragon*, and *Bird of Paradiſe*.

Hunting the elk.

The elk loves cold countries; he grazes the field in ſummer, and in winter he gnaws the bark of trees. When the ſnows are deep, thoſe animals aſſemble in herds in ſome pine-wood, in order to ſhelter themſelves from the ſeverity of the weather, where they remain while there is any food for them. They are eaſily hunted down at this time, and ſtill more ſo when the ſun gets heat enough to melt the ſnows: for, as the froſt in the night forms a hard cruſt on the ſurface of thoſe ſnows which have been melting in the day time, the elk, who is very heavy, breaks it with his hoof, and wounds his limbs in it, which he is ſcarce able to extricate from the holes he has made. Except at theſe times, and eſpecially when the ſnows are not deep, it is very difficult and even dangerous to come near him; for when he is wounded, he is very furious, and will turn boldly on the hunters, and knock them down with his hoofs. The way to eſcape from him is to throw him your coat, on which he will diſcharge all his vengeance, whilſt the hunter concealing himſelf behind ſome tree, takes an opportunity to diſpatch him. The common pace of the elk is a hard trot, which is almoſt as ſwift as a buffalo can run. He holds out a long time, but the *Indians* are ſtill better runners than he. It is ſaid, that he falls down on his knees when he drinks, eats, and when he goes to ſleep; and they add, that he has a ſmall bone in his heart, which being reduced to powder, and taken in broth, brings forward the birth, and mitigates child-bed pains.

The

The moſt northerly *Indians* of *Canada* have a way of hunting the elk, which is very ſimple, and not at all dangerous. The hunters divide into two bodies; one embarks on board canoes, keeping at ſome diſtance from the other, and forming together a pretty large ſemicircle, the extremities of which touch the banks; the other body which remains aſhore, range themſelves pretty much in the ſame form, and at firſt ſurround a conſiderable ſpace of ground. The hunters then let looſe their dogs, which raiſe all the elks within thoſe bounds, drive them towards the canoes, and at laſt force them into the river, or lake, where they inſtantly receive the fire of all the canoes, ſo that very rarely ſo much as one of them eſcapes. Simple way of hunting.

Champlain ſpeaks of another way of hunting not only the elk, but even ſtags and caribous, that has ſome relation to this. They incloſe, ſays he, a certain portion of the foreſt with ſtakes, or piles, interwoven with branches of trees, leaving only one narrow entrance, in which they ſtretch thongs of raw hides. This incloſure is of a triangular form, and from the angle where the entrance is, another triangle is conſtructed, much larger than the former; thus theſe two incloſures communicate one with the other, by the two angles. The two ſides of this ſecond triangle are ſurrounded with piles in the ſame manner, and the hunters, drawn up in one line, form the baſe of it. They afterwards advance, but take care not to break the line, drawing nearer and nearer to each other, with loud ſhouts, and beating ſome inſtrument which makes a prodigious noiſe. The beaſts, thus drove from one ſide, and finding no way of eſcaping to the right or left, and beſides being ſtunned and ſtartled by the noiſe, have no other way left them to eſcape, but into the other incloſure, and many of them are caught by the neck or horns in this paſſage. They make prodigious efforts to extricate themſelves; ſometimes they break or carry away the thongs, and ſometimes they ſtrangle themſelves, or at leaſt, the hunters, by this delay, have time to ſhoot them. Thoſe who eſcape this ſnare are ſtill in as much danger as ever, and have too little room, in this ſmaller incloſure, to ſhun the arrows that are ſhot at them from all ſides. Another method.

The elk has other enemies that make as cruel a war upon him as the *Indians*. The moſt dreadful of theſe is the [illegible]ou, or Quincajou, a ſpecies of the cat kind, the tail of which is ſo long as to w[illegible]ral times round his body; his hair is of a brownish red. As ſoon as this hunte[illegible]mes up with the elk, he leaps upon him, fixes on his neck, round which he twines his long tail, and then cuts his jugular. The elk has but one way left to ſhun this diſaſter, which is by throwing himſelf into the water the moment he finds himſelf in the hands of this terrible enemy. As the carcajou cannot endure the water, he immediately quits his hold; but if the water be too far off, he has time to deſtroy his priſoner before he reaches it. As this animal is not endowed with the moſt acute ſmell, he generally carries three foxes along with him, which he ſends out on diſcoveries. As ſoon as they get ſcent of an elk, two of them place themſelves one on each ſide, and the other directly behind him; and in this manner they manage matters ſo well by harraſſing the prey, till at laſt they force him to betake himſelf to the place where they left the Carcajou, with whom they afterwards ſettle their different proportions of the ſpoil. The Carcajou has ſtill another ſtratagem to catch his prey, which is to climb a tree, where laying himſelf flat along ſome propending branch, he waits till ſome elk paſſes, and throws himſelf upon him the moment he perceives him within reach. Carcajou, or enemy to the elk.

The ſtag of *Canada* is in all reſpects the ſame with ours in *Europe*, only ſomewhat larger. The *Indians* however ſeem not to trouble themſelves much about them, at leaſt I do not find that they make war upon the ſtag in form, and with the ſame ceremony as when they hunt the bear and elk. Stag in Canada

The Caribou is an animal not quite ſo tall as the elk, has more the appearance of an aſs than a mule, and is as ſwift as the ſtag. There was formerly one of them ſeen on Cape *Diamond*, near *Quebec*, which had probably been purſued by the hunters; but he was not long in perceiving that he was in no place of ſafety, ſo he made but one leap thence into the river, which he ſwam over with the ſame facility, but all to no purpoſe, being killed by ſome *Canadians*, who were going to war, and then encamped at *Point Levi*, on the oppoſite ſide. The tongue of this animal is much eſteemed. Its true country is probably in the neighbourhood of *Hudſon's Bay*; for the Sieur *Jeremie*, who paſſed ſeveral winters in theſe Northern parts, ſays, that between *Danish* River and Port *Nelſon*, there are prodigious numbers all the ſummer, Caribou a quadruped.

which being driven from the woods by the ſwarms of gnats and gad-flies, come to refreſh themſelves by the ſea ſide, and that for the ſpace of forty or fifty leagues together you continually meet with herds of them of a thouſand in a herd at leaſt.

It does not appear that the caribous have multiplied greatly in the moſt frequented places of *Canada*; elks, on the contrary, were to be met with every where in prodigious numbers, and might have made a very conſiderable branch of trade, as well as a great conveniency to the inhabitants, had they been better managed. But this has been ſadly neglected, and whether it is by the multitudes killed, or that by hunting they have obliged them to remove to other parts, nothing is rarer to be met with than an elk.

Hunting the buffalo.

In the weſtern and ſouthern parts of *Canada*, on both ſides the *Miſſiſippi*, the hunting moſt in vogue, is that of the Buffalo, which is done in the manner following. The hunters draw up in four lines, forming a very large ſquare: they begin by ſetting fire to the graſs, which is dry at that ſeaſon, and very rank: afterwards, as the fire gets ground, they advance, conſtantly drawing nearer and nearer to each other. The buffaloes, which are extremely afraid of the fire, fly before it, till at laſt they are pent up in ſo narrow a ſpace, that few or none of them eſcape; ſeldom a party returns from hunting the Buffalo, without, as we are told, killing fifteen hundred, or two thouſand of thoſe animals. But leſt the different companies of hunters ſhould incommode one another, they agree upon the place of hunting before they ſet out. There are even ſtated penalties for ſuch as tranſgreſs theſe regulations, as well as for thoſe who by deſerting their poſt ſuffer the prey to eſcape. Theſe penalties are in general, that every perſon ſhall have a right to deprive the delinquent of his ſhare of the ſpoil, and even to take his arms from him, which is reckoned the greateſt affront that can poſſibly be given to an *Indian*, and to deſtroy his hut. The *Indian* chiefs are equally ſubjected to thoſe puniſhments with the reſt of the company, and thoſe who ſhould attempt an exemption, would probably kindle a war that would not eaſily be extinguiſhed.

Buffalo of *Canada* deſcrib'd

The Buffalo of *Canada* is larger than ours in *Europe*; its horns are low, ſhort, and black; a long hairy beard deſcends from its muzzle, and another from the crown of its head, which falls over its eyes, and gives the creature a moſt hideous look. It has on its back a bunch, beginning from the haunches, and increaſing towards the ſhoulders. The front of this bunch is higher by a cubit, than the hinder part, and three fingers broad, and the whole bunch is covered with long reddiſh hair. The reſt of the body is cloathed with a black wool, which is highly valued. It is ſaid that the wool of a Buffalo weighs eight pounds. This animal is very broad at the cheſt, pretty ſlender at the loins, has a very ſhort tail, and almoſt no neck; but its head is much bigger than the *European* Buffalo's. He commonly flies the moment he diſcovers a man, and a dog will drive a whole herd before him. He has a very quick ſcent, and you muſt always be to leeward of him, before you can get near enough to ſhoot him, without being diſcovered. But after he is wounded, he grows furious, and turns upon the hunter; and he is no leſs dangerous when the females have newly brought forth their young. The fleſh of this animal is very good, but that of the cow Buffalo is only eaten, the bull's being too hard. As for the hide, nothing can exceed it; it is eaſily dreſſed, and tho' it is exceeding ſtrong, becomes full as ſoft and ſupple as the beſt ſort of ſhammy. The *Indians* make targets of it which are extremely light, and almoſt muſket proof.

There is another ſpecies of the buffalo in the neighbourhood of *Hudſon's Bay*, the ſkin and wool of which is no leſs valuable than thoſe of the buffaloes I have juſt now mentioned. The account which M. *Jeremie* gives of them is, that at fifteen leagues from the *Daniſh* River is the *River of Sea Wolves*, ſo called from the great number of thoſe animals that frequent it. Between theſe two rivers is a ſpecies of buffaloes, called

Muſk buffalo.

Muſk Buffaloes, from their ſmelling ſo ſtrong of that perfume at a certain time of the year, that their fleſh is not eatable. They are covered with a very fine wool, and longer than that of the ſheep in *Barbary*. I carried, ſays he, ſome into *France*, in the year 1708, of which I cauſed ſome pairs of ſtockings to be made, which were even finer and more beautiful than thoſe of ſilk. Theſe buffaloes, though ſmaller than ours in *Europe*, have much thicker and longer horns, the roots of which meet on the crown of their head, and coming down cloſe by the eyes, almoſt as low as the throat, the ends of them afterwards turn upwards, and form a kind of creſcent. I have, ſays M. *Jeremie*, ſeen a pair of horns which weighed ſixty pounds when ſeparated from the ſcull. They have very ſhort legs, ſo that, when they walk, their wool trails upon the ground, which

which renders them ſo unſhapely, that at a diſtance you are at a loſs where to look for the head. As there is no great number of thoſe animals, the ſpecies would ſoon become extinct, were the *Indians* to be employed in hunting them. Beſides, the ſhortneſs of their legs makes it eaſy to kill them with launces, when the ſnow is deep, in which caſe they cannot poſſibly eſcape.

Roebuck or *Canada*

The moſt common quadruped in *Canada* is the Roe-buck, which differs in nothing from ours. This creature is ſaid to ſhed tears when he ſees himſelf reduced to extremities by the hunters. When he is young, his ſkin is marked with ſtripes of different colours lengthwiſe; afterwards, this hair falls off, and in place of it grows another ſort, which is of the common colour of this animal. He is not at all fierce, is eaſily tamed, and is naturally fond of man. The tame females, when proud, will go into the woods, and, after ſhe has had the male, will return to her maſter's houſe. When ſhe is ready to bring forth her young, ſhe retires to the woods again, whence, after ſome time ſpent in ſuckling, ſhe comes back in the ſame manner. She is conſtant in her viſits to her offſpring; the maſter follows her when he ſees fit, and takes the young, which ſhe afterwards nurſes in the houſe. It is ſomething ſtrange, that every houſe in *Canada* is not ſupplied with a large flock of theſe creatures; the *Indians* hunt them only occaſionally.

Wild cat.

There are alſo in the foreſts of *Canada* a great multitude of Wolves, or rather Wild-Cats, for they have nothing of the wolf, except the howling of that animal; in every other reſpect they are of the feline kind. They are naturally hunters, living ſolely on the fleſh of what other animal they are able to catch, and which they purſue to the tops of the talleſt trees. Their fleſh is white, and good eating; their hair and ſkin are well known in *France*, and make one of the fineſt furs of all this country, as well as the moſt conſiderable article in its commerce. But a greater value ſtill is put on a ſort of black fox, that lives in the mountains, in the north part of this province. I have however heard, ſays my author, that the fur of the *Ruſſian* black fox, and of thoſe in the North of *Europe*, are in ſtill greater requeſt. They are, however, extremely rare, even in *Canada*, probably becauſe of the difficulty of catching them.

Black fox.

Foxes of various colours.

The moſt common ſorts here, are thoſe who have black or grey hairs mixed with white; others of them are entirely grey, and others of a carrotty red. There is a ſort of them found about the *Upper Miſſiſipi*, the ſkin of which is of a ſilver white, and extremely beautiful. There are alſo tigers found in theſe parts, and wolves inferior in ſize to ours. The foxes hunt the water-fowl in a very ſagacious manner. They advance a little into the water, then they retire, making a thouſand antic motions on the ſhore. banks. Ducks, buſtards, and ſuch like fowl, are taken with this amuſement, and draw near the fox, who, to lull them into a ſtill greater ſecurity, remains very quiet at firſt, only making a few motions with his tail to draw them ſtill nearer. The moment he thinks himſelf ſure of them, he flies at them, and rarely fails of ſucceſs. The *Indians* have bred up dogs to the ſame exerciſe, which they perform with admirable dexterity; thoſe dogs, too, make a very cruel war on the foxes.

Stinking beaſt of

There is a kind of Pole-Cat, called, *Enfant du diable*, or *Bête puante*, that is, the devil's imp, or ſtinking beaſt, becauſe its urine, which it diſcharges when purſued, taints the air for half a quarter of a league round, for in other reſpects it is a very beautiful creature, of the ſize of a ſmall cat, but thicker, its hair ſhining or glofſy, of a greyiſh caſt, with two ſtrokes of white forming an oval from the neck to the tail, which is buſhy like that of a fox, and carried erect over the back, juſt like that of the ſquirrel. The fur of this animal, as alſo that of the Pekan, another creature of the wild-cat kind, almoſt of the ſame ſize with thoſe of *Europe*, that of the otter, the common pole-cat, the ſtote, the wood-rat, the ermine, and martin, are what is called the *Menuë Peleterie*, or leſſer furs. The Ermine is of the ſize of our ſquirrel, but not ſo long; the fur of it is of a beautiful white, and it has a long tail, the tip of which is jet black. The Martin is not ſo red as thoſe of *France*, but the hair of it is much finer. They generally keep in the middle of the woods, out of which they never ſtir, but once in two or three years, and then always in large bodies. The *Indians* are perſuaded that the year in which theſe animals are ſeen to come abroad, will be a good hunting year, that is, there will be a large fall of ſnow. The ſkin of the martin is ſold in *Canada* for a *French* crown, even the moſt ordinary ſort, for ſuch as are brown fetch twenty-four livres and upwards.

Otter, &c. fur very valuable.

Stote. The Stote differs from the pole-cat in this only, that the hair of the former is blacker, longer, and thicker. Theſe two animals prey upon the birds, and even upon thoſe of the largeſt ſize, and make vaſt deſtruction in hen-roofts and pidgeon-houſes.

Wood rat. The wood-rat is twice as large as the rat of *Europe*. The tail of this creature is buſhy, and the hairs of it of a beautiful ſilver grey. There are even ſome of them entirely white, and that of an extremely beautiful colour. The female has a bag under her belly, which ſhe opens and ſhuts at pleaſure: In this bag ſhe encloſes her young when ſhe is purſued, and flies with the burden for ſafety.

Squirrel-like rats. As for the Squirrel, there are vaſt numbers of them in this country, as they are never moleſted. They are diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts; the red, which differs nothing from ours; thoſe called *Suiſſes*, which are ſomewhat ſmaller, and are ſo called becauſe their ſkin is marked with red, black, and white ſtripes lengthwiſe, not unlike the Pope's *Swiſs* guards; and the flying ſquirrels, of much the ſame ſize with the *Swiſs*, the ſkin of which ſort, is a dark grey. They are called flying ſquirrels, not that they actually fly, but from their ſpringing from one tree to another, at the diſtance at leaſt of forty paces, and when they leap from a ſuperior height, they will ſhoot double that diſtance. What gives them this extraordinary agility is two membranes reaching between the fore and hind legs of the ſame ſide, about two inches broad, very thin, and covered with a very thin down, inſtead of hair. This animal is very eaſily tamed, and very lively, when he is not aſleep. But this is very ſeldom, as he makes his laire wherever he can, in your pockets, ſleeves, and cuffs of your coat. He generally gives his maſter the preference, and will ſingle him out from a ſcore of people.

Porcupine de-ſcribed. The Porcupine of *Canada* is of the ſize of a middling dog, but ſhorter, and not quite ſo tall. Its hair is about four inches long, of the thickneſs of a ſlender ſtraw, white, hollow, and very ſtrong, particularly that on the back. This hair is all the weapons he has, whether of the offenſive or defenſive kind; he darts it at once at whatever attempts his life, and if it pierce ever ſo little the fleſh, it muſt be drawn out immediately, otherwiſe it penetrates to its whole length, for which reaſon hunters are very cautious of letting their dogs come near this animal. Its fleſh is very good eating; a roaſted porcupine being accounted not at all inferior to a pig.

Hare and rabbit. The Hare and Rabbit of this country are exactly the ſame with ours in *Europe*, excepting that their hind legs are yet longer. Their ſkins are of little or no conſequence, as the hair is always coming off, which is a real loſs, as their fur is very fine, and might be uſefully employed in the making of hats. In the winter ſeaſon, theſe animals turn grey, and rarely are ſeen to come out of their holes, where they live on the tendereſt branches of the birch-tree; in the ſummer their hair is red. The fox makes a continual war on thoſe animals; and the *Indians* catch them in winter on the ſnow with gins, when they go forth in queſt of food.

The Rattle-Snake is the only reptile worthy of notice in this country, but ſo well known that we ſhall paſs it over, and proceed to the birds that are inhabitants of *Canada*.

Birds. The foreſts of *Canada* are by no means ſo well provided in birds, either with reſpect to numbers or variety, as the ſeas, lakes, and rivers, are with fiſhes. There are ſome however which have their merit, and are peculiar to *North America*. Here

Eagles of two ſorts. are eagles of two ſorts; the largeſt have their necks and heads almoſt white; they give chace to the hares and rabbits, which they carry off in their pounces to their neſts. The other ſort are grey, and prey upon birds only. Both kinds are excellent

Hawks. fiſhers. The falcon, goſs-hawk, and taſſel-hawk, are exactly the ſame with thoſe in *Europe*; there are beſides a ſecond ſort of falcons, that live entirely on fiſh. The

Partridges, their ſorts. partridges of *Canada*, are of three ſorts; the grey, red, and black; theſe laſt are the leaſt valued of the three, having too much the flavour of the grape, juniper, and fir-tree. Theſe have alſo the head and eyes of a pheaſant, and their fleſh is of a brownish colour, with long tails, ſpreading like a fan or the tail of a turkey-cock, and of an extraordinary beauty, ſome of them being mixt with red, brown, and grey, and others a mixture of light grey and brown. All theſe ſorts of partridges are however larger than ours in *Europe*, but ſo remarkably tame, that they ſuffer you not only to ſhoot at them, but to come very near them.

Snipes, woodcock. Beſides ſnipes, which are excellent in this country, and the ſmaller ſort of water-fowl, which is found every where in the greateſt abundance, you ſometimes meet with wood-cocks near ſprings, but in no great numbers. In the country of the *Illinois*, and all over the ſouth parts of *Canada*, they are in greater plenty.

M. *Denys*,

M. *Denys*, a *French* writer, who reſided ſome time on this continent, aſſures us, that the Raven of *Canada* is quite as good eating as a hen; which may be true of *Acadia*, tho' doubtful with reſpect to other parts of *Canada*. The ravens are ſomething larger than ours in *Europe*, blacker, and have a different cry. The Oſprays, on the contrary, are ſmaller, and their note by no means ſo diſagreeable to the ear. The Owl of *Canada* differs from the *European* only in that it has a ſmall white ring round its neck, with a peculiar ſort of cry. The fleſh of this bird is good eating, and many prefer it to a barn-door fowl. The winter proviſion of theſe owls conſiſts of field-mice, in which they obſerve a ſingular piece of œconomy in breaking their legs, and afterwards fattening them for uſe on occaſion. The Bat of this country is larger than thoſe of *Europe*, the martins and ſwallows here are birds of paſſage as in our hemiſphere. The firſt are not black like ours, but of a brownith red. There are three ſorts of Larks, the ſmalleſt of which is of the ſize of a ſparrow; and this laſt differs alſo from our ſparrows, and tho' it retains the ſame qualities, has however a very diſagreeable aſpect.

Raven. Owl. Bat. Swallow. Lark. Sparrow.

Ducks are found in prodigious numbers in this country; of thoſe birds they reckon two and twenty different kinds. The moſt beautiful, and beſt to eat, are what the *French* call *branches canards*, from their perching on the branches of trees. Their plumage is moſt beautifully diverſified, and the colour extremely bright and vivid. Swans, turkies, moor-hens, cranes, teal, geeſe, buſtards, and other large water-fowl, are found every where in the greateſt abundance, except in the neighbourhood of plantations, where they never come.

Ducks, &c. Water fowl.

There are Magpies of two colours; ſome are all white, and others of a light grey; and both make excellent ſoups. The Wood-peckers are beautiful to admiration. There are of them of all colours, others entirely black, or quite of a dark brown, except the head and neck, which are of a moſt beautiful red.

Pies. Woodpeckers.

The Thruſh of *Canada* is very like ours in *Europe*, as to ſhape, but has only half the charms of the other's muſic. The Goldfinch has not near ſo beautiful a head as the *European*, and all its feathers are overſpread with a mixture of yellow and black; I can ſay little of its note, as having never ſeen one in a cage.

Thrush. Goldfinch.

The foreſts of *Canada* are full of a bird of the ſize of a linnet, which is quite yellow, has a very ſlender neck, and a very ſhort ſong, with little variety in it; This bird has no other name than that of its colour. But the beſt muſician of all the *Canadian* groves, is a ſort of ortolan, the plumage of which is of an aſh-colour on the back, and a white on the belly, whence it is called the white-bird, yielding nothing to the pipe of the thruſh in *Europe*; but the male is the only ſong-bird, the female remaining mute even in a cage. This little creature has a very charming outſide, and for its reliſh well deſerves the name of Ortolan. It is not certain to what quarter he retires in the winter-ſeaſon, but he is always the firſt harbinger of the ſpring. The ſnow is ſcarce melted when theſe birds are found in great multitudes in ſome parts, at which time you may take what quantity you pleaſe.

Yellow bird. Song ortolan.

About a hundred leagues ſouth of *Chambly* you begin to meet with the bird called Cardinal, ſome of which ſort have been brought over to *Paris*. The ſweetneſs of his ſong, and the beauty of his plumage, which is of a fine carnation, and a little tuft which he has on his head, not unlike the crowns with which painters adorn *Indian* kings, ſeem ſufficient to entitle him to hold the ſceptre amongſt the feathered kind. He has, however, a rival in this country, capable of engaging every vote, were the charms of his muſic equal to thoſe of his outward appearance, I mean what they call in our country *l'Oiſeau Mouche*, or *Humming Bird*. This name is given him for two reaſons, the firſt is, his diminutive ſize; for with all his feathers, he is no bigger than a common May-bugg. The ſecond is the great buzzing noiſe he makes with his wings, not unlike that of a large fly. His legs, which are an inch in length, are like two needles. His bill is no thicker than his limbs, and from this he thruſts a tongue, or rather a ſting, with which he pierces the flowers, extracting the juice, which is his common nouriſhment. The female has nothing gaudy in her outſide, is of a beautiful white below the belly, and a light aſh-colour every where elſe; but the male is a perfect jewel. From the top of his head riſes a ſmall tuft of black, the breaſt is red, the belly white, and the back, wings, and tail of a vivid green, with ſpecks of gold diſperſed over all his plumage, which

Cardinal bird deſcribed. Humming bird deſcribed.

gives it an aſtoniſhing beauty in conjunction with an imperceptible down that forms the ſofteſt and ſweeteſt dyes imaginable.

Colivry, &c. Some travellers have confounded this bird with the Colivry, and indeed this appears to be a ſpecies of thoſe birds; but the Colivry of the iſles is ſomewhat larger, has a much brighter plumage, and the bill recurved or bending downwards. This bird is ſaid to have a very melodious pipe; which, if true, is a great advantage over the *Oiſeau Mouche*, or humming bird, which has no ſong at all. He has alſo a very ſtrong and nimble flight; now you ſee him on a flower, and a moment after he ſprings almoſt perpendicularly up into the air. He is alſo a declared, and indeed a very dangerous enemy to the raven: On ſeeing one of them he quits his food, darts himſelf into the air like lightening, gets under his wing, and pierces him with his ſting, ſo that, whether by the fall, or by the wounds, he tumbles dead to the ground. Theſe birds are very tender, and are therefore very careful to prevent the firſt coming of the froſts. They probably retire towards *Carolina*, where they are ſaid to be ſeen only in winter. They build however in *Canada*, hanging their neſts on the boughs of trees, in ſuch manner, that they are ſheltered by their poſition from all the inclemency of the air. Nothing can be neater than thoſe neſts; the bottom is compoſed of little bits of wood, interwoven together like baſket-work, and the inſide is lined with a ſilky ſort of down. Their eggs are of the ſize of peaſe, with yellow ſpots on a white ground; they are generally ſaid to lay three at a time, and ſometimes they go as far as five.

Foreſts of Canada. As for the foreſts of *Canada*, which cover almoſt the whole continent, they ſeem to be as ancient as the world itſelf. Nothing can be nobler than the proſpect they afford, the trees piercing the very clouds, and in ſuch variety, that there is perhaps no man living acquainted with half the different ſpecies to be found in thoſe parts. As to the uſes they are capable of ſerving, they are ſo many that it is impoſſible to enumerate them.

Pine trees, two ſorts. Thoſe kinds which ſtrike the eye of a ſtranger moſt, on his firſt coming into this country, are the pine, the fir, and the cedar, all which are of an height and thickneſs perfectly aſtoniſhing. There are two ſorts of pines in this country, both very proper for making of pitch and tar. The white pine, at leaſt, ſome of this ſort, produce at their apex, a ſort of muſhroom, like tinder, which the natives call *Guarigue*, uſed by the *Indians* againſt diſorders of the breaſt, and the dyſentery. The red pine is more gummy or reſinous, and of a ſtronger ſubſtance, but not ſo large as the white. The lands which produce both ſorts are not the moſt favourable for corn, being chiefly compoſed of gravel, ſand, and clay.

Firs, 4 ſorts. There are four ſorts of firs in *Canada*; the firſt reſembles ours in *Europe*; the three others are the white-prickly, the red-prickly, and the ſpruce fir. The ſecond and fourth ſorts grow to a prodigious height, and are excellent for maſts, eſpecially the white-prickly fir, which is alſo very proper for carpenters work. This tree grows

White prickly. generally in moiſt and black ſoils, and ſuch as after being drained are capable of bearing all ſorts of grain. Its bark is ſmooth and ſhining, and is overſpread with exudations or ſmall bliſters, of the ſize of a kidney bean, which contain a ſort of turpentine or balſam, a ſovereign and ſpeedy remedy for wounds, and alſo extremely beneficial in caſe of fractures. It has been aſſerted that it expels fevers, and cures pains in the breaſt and belly. The way to uſe it is by mixing two drops of it with broth or ſoup. It has alſo a purgative quality; this is what is called in *Europe* white balſam.

Red prickly, and ſpruce fir. The red-prickly fir is nothing like the white; the wood of the red is heavy, and may be uſefully employed in ſhip-building, and in carpenters work. Theſe trees grow commonly in clayey and gravelly ſoils. The ſpruce fir produces gum, but not in any quantity worth extracting; the wood of this tree laſts a long time under ground without rotting, ſo that it is extremely proper for making fences for incloſures: The bark of it is very good for tanning, and the *Indians* dye a colour with it ſomething like a deep blue. The lands where this tree grows are for the moſt part clayey, tho' there are ſometimes good numbers of them to be ſeen in ſandy places; but poſſibly under that ſand may be layers of a clayey, or perhaps a richer mould.

Cedars, white and red. The cedar of *Canada* is of two ſorts, the white and the red. Theſe laſt are of the largeſt growth, and generally uſed for paling and pipe-ſtaves, on account of its lightneſs. There is a ſort of incenſe that diſtils from it, but it yields no fruit like the cedars of Mount *Libanus*. The red cedar is not only not ſo tall, but alſo ſlenderer than the white, in proportion to its height. The moſt remarkable difference, however, is that the

odour

odour of the white is entirely in the leaves, and that of the other which is much preferred, in the wood only; neither of theſe trees, and eſpecially the white will grow in any but the beſt of ſoils.

Oak, white and red.

There are two ſorts of oaks found over all *Canada*, diſtinguiſhed in like manner into the white and red oak. The firſt are often met with in low, humid, and fertile lands, and ſuch as are proper for producing of corn and pulſe. The red ſort, the wood of which is alſo leſs valued, grows, on the contrary, on dry ſandy places; both ſorts bear acorns.

Maple.

The Maple is alſo very common in *Canada*, ſome of which grow to a prodigious thickneſs, and very good pieces of furniture are made of the wood. They generally grow in high lands, and ſuch as are very proper for fruit trees. What they call the *Rhene* in this country, is the female maple, the wood of which is much clouded, but paler than the male ſort; in other reſpects it has the ſhape and all the properties of that tree; but it thrives only in moiſt and fat lands. This tree affords great quantities of a cooling and wholeſome liquor, from which they make a ſort of ſugar by a much ſhorter proceſs and a leſs expence than that of the *Weſt Indies*; this is alſo reckoned a good pectoral, and very balſamic.

The cherry tree (bearing a ſmall bitter cherry) found amongſt maples and white wood, is very proper for furniture; this tree produces much more liquor than the maple, but it is bitter, and the ſugar made of it, never loſes its diſagreeable taſte. The *Indians* uſe the bark of it as a remedy for certain diſorders, incident to the fair ſex.

Aſh, 3 ſorts.

There are three ſorts of aſh trees in *Canada*, that called *Francy*, the meſtizzo or mongrel, and the baſtard aſh. The firſt ſort, which grows amongſt maples, is proper for the carpenters trade, and for ſtaves for dry caſks. The ſecond has the ſame uſes and qualities, and like the baſtard, grows only in low fat lands.

Walnut tree, three ſorts.

They reckon alſo three ſorts of walnut trees in this province; the hard, the ſoft, or tender, and the third ſpecies, which has a very thin bark. The hard walnut tree produces very ſmall nuts, pleaſant to the taſte, but which lye long and heavy on the ſtomach; the wood of this is only fit for burning. The ſoft walnut tree has an oblong fruit, of the ſize of a *French* walnut, with a very hard ſhell; the kernels of theſe are excellent to eat. The wood is not quite ſo fine as ours in *Europe*, but in return it is almoſt incorruptible either in the earth or under water, and extremely difficult to be burnt. The third ſort produces a nut of much the ſame ſize with the firſt, but in greater quantities, bitter, and encloſed in very thin ſhells. Theſe nuts yield an excellent oil; there diſtils from the tree, a water much richer in ſugar than that of the maple, but in ſmall quantities. This, as well as the ſoft ſort of walnut trees, grows only in the richeſt ſoil.

Beech, white-wood and the bitter cherry tree.

Beech trees abound in thoſe parts on particular ſpots. Sometimes they are found on ſandy hillocks and at others on the richeſt low-lands. Theſe bear great quantities of maſt, from which it would be no difficult matter to extract the oil; the bears and partridges ſubſiſt chiefly on this fruit. The wood of theſe trees is extremely ſoft, and and very fit to make oars for boats or galleys, tho' oars of canoes are made of maple. White-wood, a ſpecies of the poplar which grows among maples, and the bitter cherry tree, are very plentiful. Theſe trees grow very thick and ſtreight, the wood is very even, eaſily worked, and ſawed, makes excellent boards, and thick planks, and alſo ſtaves for caſks. The *Indians* make uſe of the bark to thatch their cabbins.

Elms, white and red.

The elm is very common in every part of this province. The kinds are the white, and the red; the wood of the red is harder, and much more difficult to work, but it is alſo much more laſting. It is the bark of the red elm of which the *Indians* make their canoes; ſome of which made of one ſingle piece, are capable of containing twenty perſons. Some of theſe trees are alſo hollow, and it is in thoſe cavities that the wild cats and bears take up their lodgings from the month of *November* to *April*. The

Poplar.

poplar is commonly found along the banks of rivers, and in marſhy places.

Plumb-trees. Vinegar, pemine, and goosberry ſhrubs.

The woods afford great numbers of plumb trees, loaden with fruit of a very ſharp acrid taſte. *Le Vinagrier* or vinegar tree, is a ſhrub with a very large pith, which produces a ſharp kind of fruit growing in cluſters, of the colour of bullock's blood. Theſe are infuſed in water, and make a ſort of vinegar. The *Pemine*, another plant peculiar to this country, is a different ſhrub, growing along the ſides of rivulets, and in meadows, which alſo bears a cluſtering fruit of a very ſharp and aſtringent taſte. There are three ſorts of goosberry trees, natives of this country, and exactly ſuch as thoſe of *France*.

The ſort called bleuet grow, here, as in *Europe*, in woods or groves. The fruit is a ſovereign and moſt efficacious remedy for the dyſentery, which it removes in very little time. The *Indians* dry or preſerve them in the ſame manner as we do cherries in *Europe*.

Atoca, white thorn, and cotton tree.

The atoca is a fruit growing in pods, of the ſize of a cherry. This plant which creeps along the ground in marſhy places, produces its fruit in the water. It has a ſharp taſte and is uſed in confections. The white thorn is found on the banks of rivers, and produces plenty of fruit with three ſtones, which is the food of ſeveral wild beaſts. What they call here the cotton tree, is a plant which ſprouts, like aſparagus, to the height of about three feet, and is crowned with ſeveral tufts of flowers; theſe are ſhaken early in the morning before the dew is off them, when there falls from them with the dew, a kind of honey, which is reduced into ſugar by boiling; the ſeed is contained in a pod, which encloſes alſo a very fine ſort of cotton.

Sun flower.

The Heliotrope, or ſun flower, is a plant very common in the fields belonging to the *Indians*, and grows to the height of ſeven or eight feet; its flower, which is very large, reſembles very much that of the marigold, and its ſeed is diſpoſed exactly in the ſame manner.

Maiz, kidney-beans, melons, &c.

The *Indians* by boiling it, extract an oil, with which they anoint their hair. The legumes, or greens, which the *Aborigines*, or ancient inhabitants of *Canada* moſt commonly cultivate are, maiz, or *Turkey*-corn, kidney-beans, pompions, and melons. They have a kind of pompion much ſmaller than ours in *Europe*, but very ſweet to the taſte. Theſe they boil whole in water, or roaſt in the aſhes, and ſo eat them without any aditional ſeaſoning. The *Indians* knew the uſe of both common and water-melon, before the arrival of the *Europeans* in this country. The firſt was full as good as thoſe of *France*, eſpecially at *Chambly*, where they are in great abundance. The hops, and capilaire, or maiden hair, are alſo the production of *Canada*, and this latter grows to a greater height, and is much preferrable to that of *France*.

Vines of Canada.

In the Southern parts of *Canada*, are multitudes of vines; it is about the entry of the Lake *Ontario*, where you firſt meet with them, and that in ſuch numbers, that there is ſcarce any tree without a vine, which climbs to the top of the higheſt of them. Vines abound as much, we are aſſured, all over the country as far as *Mexico*. The branches ſpring from a very thick ſtem, and bear multitudes of grapes; but no bigger than a pea, which is owing to their want of pruning and cultivation. When ripe they afford a plentiful repaſt for the bears, who mount in queſt of them, to the tops of the loftieſt trees. Yet they have only the fragments left by the birds, who very ſoon reap the vintage of whole foreſts. As to ſimples, there is a great variety, and amongſt thoſe many which are peculiar to *Canada*; but to give the detail of them all would ſwell this account to too great a bulk, and would require a volume to themſelves.

Of the Origin, Languages, Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners, and Cuſtoms, of the different Indian *Nations inhabiting* CANADA.

THE firſt *Indian* nation we meet with in our voyage from *Europe* to *Canada* is that of the *Eſkimaux*, a people inhabiting the immenſe and frightful ſolitudes of *Labrador*, ſituated on the North ſide of the Gulph of *St Laurence*, and of the iſland of *Newfoundland*, whither they make annual excurſions, it being doubted, whether there are any other inhabitants, beſides thoſe flying colonies of the *Eſkimaux*, to be found on that iſland. Here they paſs the greateſt part of the year, and eſpecially the ſummer, being employed in the common exerciſes of ſavages, hunting and fiſhing, which conſtitute all the arts known or practiſed among them. The *Eſkimaux*, though ſcarce numerous enough to people two or three ſorry villages, poſſeſs, or rather range through, an immenſe extent of country, lying between the river *St Laurence*, *Canada*, and the Northern Ocean; and ſome of them have been met with as far as the river *Bourbon*, which, flowing from the Weſt, diſcharges itſelf into *Hudſon's Bay*.

The

The origin of this name of *Eſkimaux* is doubtful, though the moſt probable etymology of it is from the *Algonquin* word *Eſquimantſic*, that is, *Eaters of raw fleſh*. In fact, the *Eſkimaux* are the only *Indians* we know, who feed on raw fleſh, though they are not, however, ignorant of the manner of roaſting it, or, at leaſt, drying it in the ſun. It is alſo certain, that of all the known nations of *America*, there is none that anſwer the notion we in *Europe* at firſt entertain of the manners and qualities of ſavages, more than this. They are alſo almoſt the ſole people in *America* who have any beards, which they have naturally ſo thick, that their face is covered with hair up to the very eyes, and it is with difficulty one is able to diſtinguiſh the ſmalleſt feature or lineament of a human countenance in them. Their air is, moreover, to the laſt degree hideous; little and haggard eyes; black, and ſometimes flaxen hair, kept in the moſt frightful diſorder imaginable; and their whole outſide very much like that of brute animals. Of their name. Outward deſcription.

Their manners and characters are ſuch as, in every reſpect, juſtify the impreſſion one receives of them from this horrible phyſiognomy; they are fierce, ſavage, reſtleſs, ſuſpicious, and extremely deſirous of doing miſchief to ſtrangers, who can never be ſufficiently upon their guard againſt them. As for their genius, and the qualities of the mind, we have ſo little communication with this nation, that we are not ſufficiently qualified to make a juſt eſtimate of them. They have, however, abundance of addreſs in doing miſchief: They have been often known to cut the cables of ſhips at anchor in the night, in order to make them ſuffer ſhipwreck on their coaſt, that they might reap advantage from their diſtreſs. They are even bold enough to attack them in the face of day, if they happen to diſcover the crew to be weak. It has always been impoſſible to civilize them, ſo that there is no dealing with them but at the end of a long pole. They not only keep at a diſtance from *Europeans*, but even refuſe to eat of any thing preſented by them, and in every thing take ſo many precautions with reſpect to them, as not only to betray an infinite diſtruſt and ſuſpicion on their ſide, but alſo to give grounds for the ſame fears from themſelves. The *Eſkimaux* are tall of ſtature, and indifferently well made, and their ſkin is quite as fair as that of the *Europeans*, owing to their never going naked, ſummer or winter, let the heat be never ſo exceſſive. Their genius and manner.

Some derive their pedigree from *Greenland*. Their flaxen hair, their beards, the whiteneſs of their ſkin, their ſmall commerce and reſemblance with their neighbours, leave no room to doubt their having a different original from the other *Americans*. This conjecture therefore is not improbable; as we may ſuppoſe no nation will much value themſelves on the honour of an alliance with a people, who are as inhoſpitable and uncultivated as the coun' they inhabit. Their origin.

Their cloathes conſiſt of a ſhirt, made of the bladders or entrails of fiſhes cut into breadths, and tolerably well ſewed together, over which they wear a ſort of cloak, made of the ſkins of bears, or other wild beaſts, and even ſometimes of the ſkins of fowls. A ſort of cowl, or cap, of the ſame ſtuff with their ſhirt, and ſowed to it, covers the head, and from the top of it riſes a tuft of hair, which falling down hides their foreheads. The ſhirt reaches to the loins only, and the cloak hangs down before as far as the thighs, and behind terminates in a point ſomewhat below the waiſt. The women however wear it hanging down on both ſides as far as the mid-leg, and faſten it with a belt, from which hang ſmall bones. The men wear breeches made of ſkins, with the hair inwards, and covered on the outſide with ermine, or ſome ſuch fur. They wear alſo ſtockings made of ſkins, with the hairy ſide inwards, in the ſame manner, and over theſe, fur-boots, with the hair as the firſt, then a ſecond pair of ſtockings, and another pair of boots above that; and thoſe ſtockings and boots, it is ſaid, ſometimes trebled and quadrupled, which, with all their encumbrance, hinder not thoſe *Indians* from being very nimble. Their arrows, which are their only arms offenſive or defenſive, are pointed with the teeth of the fiſh called the ſea-cow, to which they alſo add iron when they can get it. In ſummer they are known to live night and day in the open air: In winter they live in caverns under ground, where they are crouded one over another, probably for the better keeping out the cold. Cloathing.

We are very little acquainted with the *Indians*, living round and above *Hudſon's Bay*. On the Southern parts of that bay indeed they carry on a trade with the *Miſſaſſins*, *Monſonis*, *Cryſinaux*, and *Aſſiniboels*, theſe laſt lie very remote, and

inhabit the banks of a lake lying to the North, and North-Weſt of the *Sioux*, a dialect of whoſe language they ſpeak; the three others talk the *Algonkin* language. The *Criſtinaux*, or *Kilaſſinous*, come from the countries lying on the North ſhore of Lake *Superior*.

Savanois nation.

The *Indians* in the neighbourhood of the rivers *Bourbon* and *St Thereſe*, have no affinity in point of language with either; they may poſſibly underſtand the *Iyyaimaux*, who have been ſeen very high above the mouth of the river. Theſe *Indians* are obſerved to be extremely ſuperſtitious, and never to perform their worſhip without ſome ſort of ſacrifice. Thoſe who have moſt frequented their country, affirm them to have, like their brethren in *Canada*, notions of good and evil genii; that the ſun is their principal deity and that, when they are about to deliberate upon any affair of importance, they cauſe him to be ſmoked; a ceremony which is performed in the manner following. They aſſemble at day break in the cabbin of one of their chiefs, who, after lighting his pipe, offers or preſents it to the riſing ſun, then guiding it with both hands from Eaſt to Weſt, implores that planet to be propitious to the nation. This done, all thoſe who compoſe the aſſembly, ſmoke by turns in the ſame pipe. All theſe *Indians*, tho' there be actually five or ſix different nations of them, are comprehended by *French* authors, under the general apellation of *Savanois*, from the nature of the country they inhabit, which is low, ſwampy, and ill-wooded, thoſe drowned barren lands, being called *Savanes* in *Canada*.

Smoking the ſun.

Indians of the *Two Rivers*.

Higher up the bay Northwards, you meet with two rivers, one called *la riviere Daneiſe*, or *Danes river*, the other *la rivere de Loup Marin* or *Sea-Wolves river*. On the banks of theſe live certain *Indians*, called, for what reaſon it is hard to ſay, by the name or rather by the nick-name of *Plats cotee de Chiens*, that is, *Lowland Dogs*. They are often at war with the *Savanois*, tho' neither of theſe nations treat their priſoners with that cruelty, common to the *Canadian Indians*, being ſatisfied with making ſlaves of them.

The *Savanois* are ſometimes reduced by famine to inconceivable hardſhips, whether owing to their natural lazineſs, or to the barrenneſs of their lands in ſome ſeaſons, in which their harveſt fails them. When theſe inconveniences are attended with a ſcarcity of game, and a bad fiſhing ſeaſon, as they are then in perfect want of ſuſtenance, ſome have made no ſcruple to affirm, that in this conjuncture they eat one another. The coward is generally the firſt victim to neceſſity, and, it is ſaid, it is cuſtomary among them, when they come to ſuch an age as to be no longer in a condition to be ſerviceable to their families, for the perſon in theſe circumſtances to tie a rope about his neck, preſenting the ends of it at the ſame time to the child that is deareſt to him, who ſtrangles him with all the quickneſs he can exert, and believes he has performed a meritorious action, not only in putting an end to the ſufferings of his father, but alſo by promoting his happineſs; it being an article of faith among thoſe *Indians*, that thoſe who die old are born again, and take upon them a ſecond life on earth, beginning at the ſtate of infancy as before, and that he, on the contrary, who finiſhes his life betimes, and before he is old, becomes ſo on his arrival in the other world, or, as they call it, in the country of ſouls.

Strange cuſtoms and opinions of the *Savanois*.

Marriages.

The young women amongſt the *Savanois* marry not till their parents think fit, who alſo make choice of him they are to eſpouſe; and the ſon in law is obliged to live with his father in law, in entire ſubjection to his will and pleaſure till he has children of his own. The young men quit their father's houſe betimes, in order to ſhift for their livelyhood. The *Savanois* burn the bodies of their dead, and encloſe their aſhes in the bark of trees, which they afterwards bury in the earth: They then erect a ſort of monument made with poles, to which they tie tobacco for the uſe of the deceaſed in the other world. If the departed were a hunter, his bow and arrow are ſuſpended on it, in honour of him. The time of mourning of a mother for her children laſts the ſpace of twenty four days, during which, preſents are made to the father, who returns this compliment by giving a repaſt. War is much leſs in honour among them than hunting; but, in order to acquire the reputation of an able hunter, the candidate for this diſtinction is to faſt three days ſucceſſively, without taſting any thing, and to have his face daubed with black all the while. The faſt ended, he offers as a ſacrifice to the grand ſpirit, a morſel of each wild beaſt he has been accuſtomed to hunt, and it is commonly the tongue and the ſnout, or muzzle, which, except on theſe occaſions only, are the portion of the huntſman himſelf. His relations

Funerals.

Hunting in honour.

touch

touch nothing, and would ſooner die of hunger, than eat of it; he is to treat no perſon whatever with it, but his friends or ſtrangers.

In other reſpects, it is affirmed, thoſe *Indians* are perfectly diſintereſted, and of an incorruptible fidelity; that they abominate a lie, and hold all manner of deceit in the utmoſt horror and deteſtation. Such are the manners of the Northern *Indians*, with whom the *French* nation have never had any eſtabliſhed trade, and conſequently are greater ſtrangers to their manners than thoſe of the nations following. Truth and fidelity of *Indians*.

Theſe may be diſtinguiſhed into three different claſſes, or languages, each of which has its peculiar genius and character. In all that vaſt extent of country, which is more particularly known by the name of *New France*, and whoſe limits on the North extend to the *Highlands* near *Hudſon's Bay*, which was ſettled and confirmd by the treaty of *Utrecht*; and is bounded on the Eaſt by the *Britiſh* colonies; by *Louiſiana* towards the South-eaſt; and by the *Spaniſh* dominions on the Weſt, there are but three mother languages, from whence all the reſt are derived; namely, that of the *Sioux*, the *Algonkin*, and the *Huron* languages. Three languages of *Canada*.

The firſt of theſe nations is little known, no more than how far their name or language may poſſibly reach. The *French* have as yet had no manner of commerce, except with the *Sioux* and the *Aſſiniboels*, and that not without frequent interruptions. The miſſionaries attempted to make a ſettlement amongſt the firſt of theſe nations; but tho' this endeavour was not accompliſhed, the people appeared extremely docile. The ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe is the more to be regretted, as no nation could poſſibly afford better lights, with reſpect to the unknown countries lying to the North-weſt of the *Miſſiſippi*, becauſe they traffic with all the nations inhabiting thoſe vaſt regions. Theſe people dwell, for the moſt part, in Savannas, or meadows, in very capacious tents, made of ſkins, and very ingeniouſly contrived. Their common food is wild oats, which grow in great plenty in their marſhes, and on the banks of their rivers; and the fleſh of buffaloes, which are covered with wool, and graze in prodigious multitudes in thoſe meadows. They have no fixed abode, but travel from place to place in large companies, like the *Tartars*, ſtopping no longer in one place, than the plenty of game to be found in it will allow. Firſt of the *Sioux*. Account of that people

The *French* geographers diſtinguiſh this nation into the *Wandering Sioux*, the *Sioux of the Savannas*, the *Eaſtern*, and the *Weſtern Sioux*; a diſtinction, in the opinion of ſome writers verſed in thoſe matters, not too well founded. All thoſe *Sioux* live exactly in the ſame manner, ſo that a tribe, or clan, which has reſided laſt year on the Eaſtern ſhore of the *Miſſiſipi*, will be found next on its Weſtern bank; and thoſe perhaps who have been ſeen for ſome time paſt on the River *St Peter*, ſhall now inhabit ſome Savanna at a conſiderable diſtance from it. Diſtinction of the *Sioux*.

The name of *Sioux*, which has been given by the *French* to thoſe *Indians*, is entirely of *French* extraction, or rather it is no more than the two laſt ſyllables of the word *Nadoueſſioux*, the name given them by ſeveral nations; others call them *Nadoueſſis*. Of the name *Sioux*.

This nation is by far the moſt numerous of any we know in all *Canada*, and formerly very peaceable and unwarlike, till the *Hurons* and *Outawais* took ſanctuary amongſt them, when they fled from the fury of the *Iroquois*, or Five nations; theſe people laughed at the ſimplicity of the *Sioux*, and ſoon inſtructed them in the art military at their own coſt. People numerous and peaceable

The *Sioux* have a plurality of wives, and puniſh adultery with extraordinary ſeverity. This is done by cutting off the extremity of the noſe of the delinquent, and by cutting the ſkin in form of a circle on the crown of the head, and afterwards tearing it off. Puniſh adulterers.

Charlevoix ſays, he has ſpoken with ſome perſons who are perſuaded, that the *Sioux* have the ſame accent in pronouncing the words of their language with the *Chineſe*, and it would be no difficult matter for any *French* gentleman, who knew both languages, to determine whether this nation derives its original from that ancient oriental people. Pronunciation like the *Chineſe*.

Thoſe who have had any intercourſe with the *Aſſiniboels* affirm, that they are tall of ſtature, well made, vigorous, active, inured to cold and all manner of fatigues; that they pierce their bodies in every part, which they adorn with figures of ſerpents or other animals; and that they undertake journeys of a prodigious length. There is nothing, however, in this deſcription much differing from other *Indians* of this conti- *Aſſiniboels* deſcribed

nent known to us: But the great characteriſtic of this nation is, their phlegmatic temper, which appears to an extraordinary degree, when compared with the *Criſtinaux*, with whom they traffic; who are, on the contrary, endowed with an extraordinary vivacity and ſpirit, always dancing and ſinging, and ſpeaking with ſuch a volubility of tongue, and ſuch a torrent of expreſſion, as is rarely to be found in any other *Indian* nation.

Remarkable lake of *Aſſiniboels.*

The true country of the *Aſſiniboels* is in the neighbourhood of a lake of that name which is very little known. The common, tho' uncertain opinion is, that this lake is ſix hundred leagues in circumference; that all the roads leading to it are almoſt impaſſable; that its ſhores on all ſides are moſt delightfully pleaſant; that the air is very mild and temperate, tho' it is commonly placed on the north ſide of Lake *Superior*, where the cold is extreme; and that it contains ſuch a number of iſlands, that its common name in theſe parts is the lake of *Iſlands*. Some *Indians* call it *Michinipi*, that is, the *Great Water*; and in fact it appears to be the baſon, or reſervoir, of a multitude of very large rivers, as well as of all the lakes in *North America*. From this lake, ſay they, flows *Bourbon* river, which falls into *Hudſon's Bay*; the river *St Laurence*, which carries its waters to the ocean; the *Miſſiſipi*, which empties itſelf into the Gulf of *Mexico*; the *Miſſouri*, which mixes its waters with this laſt, and is not at all inferior to it before their junction; and a fifth, which, they tell us, flows Weſtward, and therefore undoubtedly diſembogues itſelf into the Southern or *Pacific* ocean. It is pity this lake is not known to thoſe literati who have ſearched every where for the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, which would have been at leaſt as properly fixed here as in *Scandinavia*. I will not take upon me to juſtify all the accounts which travellers have given us, and ſtill leſs what certain *Indians* relate, who pretend, that in the neighbourhood of this lake of the *Aſſiniboels* are men reſembling us *Europeans*, and living in a country where gold and ſilver are ſo common, as to be employed in the moſt trifling utenſils. Father *Marquette*, who diſcovered the *Miſſiſipi* in 1673, tells us, in the account he has left us, that certain *Indians* had not only told him of that river, which takes its riſe from this lake, and flows Weſtwards, but added, that they had ſeen large ſhips at its mouth. It further appears, that the *Aſſiniboels* are the ſame people marked in certain old maps under the name of *Poualaks*, whoſe country, according to ſome relations, adjoins to that of the *Criſtinaux*, or *Killiſtinous*.

Algonkin and *Huron* tongues

The *Algonkin* and *Huron* languages divide almoſt all the nations of *Canada* between them, with whom the *French* have any ſort of commerce; and he who ſhould be maſter of both, might travel over a tract of country more than fifteen hundred leagues in extent, without any interpreter, and might alſo make himſelf underſtood by upwards of a hundred different nations, who yet have each their peculiar and diſtinct language. The *Algonkin* in particular comprehends an immenſe ſpace of country: It begins at *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of *St Laurence*, and makes a circuit of twelve hundred leagues, fetching a compaſs from the South-eaſt by the North to the oppoſite point in the North weſt. It is pretended alſo, that the *Wolf* nation, or *Makingans*, and moſt of the *Indians* of *New England* and *Virginia*, ſpeak a dialect of the *Algonkin* language.

The *Abenaquis*, or *Canibas*, on the confines of *New-England*, have for their next neighbours the *Etechemins*, or *Malecites*, on the lands adjacent to the river *Pentagoet*; and further eaſtwards are the *Micmacs*, or *Souriquois*, whoſe country is properly *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia*, being the extended coaſt along the gulf of *St Laurence* reaching as far as *Gaſpé*, from whence a certain author has given them the name of *Gaſpeſians*, and the iſlands in its neighbourhood. From hence, as far up the river *St Laurence* as *Saguinay*, there is no *Indian* nation to be found; tho' when *Canada* was firſt diſcovered, and a great many years afterwards, they reckoned ſeveral nations within this ſpace, who ſpread themſelves over the iſle of *Anticoſti*, towards the *Monts Notre Dame*, and along the Northern ſhore of the river. Thoſe moſt commonly mentioned in the antient relations are the *Berſiamites*, the *Papinachois*, and the *Montagnez*. They were alſo called, and eſpecially theſe laſt, the *Lower Algonkins*, from their inhabiting along the lower part of the river, with reſpect to *Quebec*. The others are, for the moſt part, reduced to a few ſtraggling families, which wander from place to place, without any fixed reſidence.

There were alſo ſome *Indian* nations who uſed to frequent *Canada*, coming from the

the Northern parts, ſometimes by way of the river *Saguenay*, but more commonly by the *three Rivers*; but it is long ſince we have heard of them. Amongſt others, the *Attikamegues*, an *Indian* nation very remote and ſurrounded by other nations, reaching to the neighbourhood of *Lac Saint Jean*, or *St John's Lake*, and even as far as the lakes of the *Miſtaſſins*, and *Nemiſcan*. Almoſt all of them have been exterminated by the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, or by diſeaſes, the conſequence of famine; a diſtreſs to which they have been reduced thro' fear of thoſe barbarians. They are the more to be commiſerated, if the character they bear in the *French* writers be true, that they were without vice, remarkably good natured, and exceedingly diſpoſed to embrace Chriſtianity. Their hearty and inviolable attachment to the *French*, in whoſe intereſts they were, and their regard to treaties, are alſo qualities extremely worthy of our eſteem and commendation. *Nations of virtuous qualities exterminated.*

Between *Quebec* and *Montreal*, there are alſo towards the *Three Rivers*, ſome of the *Algonkin* nation, who are not, however, incorporated in one village; they traffic with the *French*. If what the *French* writers tell us is to be credited, this nation, in the infancy of the colony, occupied all the Northern ſhore of the river, from *Quebec*, where *Champlain* found one of their ſettlements, and made an alliance with them as far as Lake *St Peter*. *Algonkin nation*

From the iſland of *Montreal*, following always the North coaſt, you meet with ſome villages of the *Nipiſſings*, *Temiſcamings*, *Tetes de boule*, or round-heads, *Amikouis*, and, laſtly, *Outawais*, or, as ſome pronounce and write, *Outaouaks*. The firſt who are the true *Algonkins*, and who alone have preſerved the *Algonkin* tongue in its original purity, have given their name to a ſmall lake ſituated between lake *Huron*, and the river of the *Outawais*. The *Temiſcamings* occupy the banks of another ſmall lake, which alſo bears their name; and appears to be the true ſource of the river of the *Outawais*. The *Round-Heads* live not far from theſe, and take their names from the figure of their heads, which they do eſteem a very great beauty, and, for this reaſon, it is believed that the mothers take great care to form the heads of their children into this ſhape when they are in the cradle. *Nations above Montreal.* *Round heads.*

The *Amikouis*, called alſo the *nation of the Beaver*, are almoſt reduced to nothing; the remains of them now are ſeen in the Iſland *Manitoualan*, ſituated towards the North part of Lake *Huron*. The *Outawais*, formerly a very numerous nation, inhabited the banks of the great river which bears their name, and of which they pretend to be rightful lords. There are now no more than three villages of them, and thoſe very thin of inhabitants, of whom ſome account will be given hereafter. *Nations almoſt extinct.*

In the *Narrows*, or ſtrait between the lakes *Huron* and *Superior*, and in the place where one of theſe lakes, that is, the *Superior*, empties itſelf into the other, we meet with a rapid riſt, formerly mentioned under the appellation of *le Sault St Marie*, or *the fall of St Mary*. The neighbourhood of this place was formerly poſſeſſed by an *Indian* nation, who came, as is ſaid, from the Southern ſhore of Lake *Superior*, and were called *Saulteurs*, that is the nation living near the fall; a name which was very probably given them to avoid the trouble of pronouncing their real name, which they ſay is impoſſible to be expreſſed under two or three breathings, ſomewhat reſembling PAUOIRIGOUEIOUTIAK. No *Indian* nation, as I am informed, from the *French* authors, inhabits the banks of Lake *Superior*, tho' the *French*, in the poſts or forts they have built near this lake, traffic with the *Chriſtinaux*, a nation coming from the North-Eaſt, and ſpeaking the *Algonkin* tongue, and, with the *Aſſiniboels*, ſituated towards the North-Weſt. *Saulteurs nation.*

On the Weſt of Lake *Michigan* there is a great bay, which extends twenty eight leagues towards the South, called *la Baye des puants*, or ſimply, the *Bay*. The entry of this bay is very wide, and is a ſort of archipel, ſome of the iſlands of which are from fifteen to twenty leagues in circuit. Theſe were formerly inhabited by the *Poutewatamis*, whoſe name they ſtill retain, excepting a few which you leave on your right hand, at preſent inhabited by certain *Indians* called *Noquets*. The *Poutewatamis* now poſſeſs the leaſt of theſe iſles, which formerly belonged to them, and have beſides two other villages, one ſituated on *St Joſeph's* river, and another at the *Narrows*. Towards the bottom of the bay are the *Sakis* and *Otchagras*; theſe latter are called by the diſagreeable epithet of *Puans*, *Stinkards*, the reaſon of which *Nations on the iſles of B. des Puans.*

Puans and *Malhommes* nations.

is not as yet diſcovered; but before you arrive in their country, you leave on the right, a ſmall nation called *Malhommes*, *Moon-calves*, or *Folles Avoines*, that is, *Addle-Heads*.

Renards nation.

A ſmall river, very much interrupted with falls, or cataracts, diſcharges itſelf into the bottom of the bay, and is known by the name of *la Riviere des Renards*, or the *River of Foxes*, on account of the neighbourhood of the *Outagamis*, commonly called *Renards*, or *Foxes*. All this country is extremely pleaſant, and that which ſtretches Southward, as far as the river of the *Ilinois*, is ſtill more charming. It is, however, but ill peopled, being only inhabited by two weak nations, the *Kikapous* and *Maſcoutins*. Some geographers have thought fit to diſtinguiſh theſe laſt by the name of the Nation of fire *Nation of Fire*, and their country by that of the *Land of Fire*; an appellation which owes its riſe to an equivocal term in the language of that people.

Miamis nation, three cantons.

It is eighty years ſince the *Miamis* have been ſettled on the Southern extremity of Lake *Michigan*, in a place called *Chicagou*, from a ſmall river of this name, which throws itſelf into the lake, and has its ſource not far diſtant from that of the *Ilinois*. Theſe people are now divided into three cantons, one of which is on the river *St Joſeph*; a ſecond on a river which bears their name, and diſcharges itſelf into Lake *Erie*; and the third on the river *Ouabache*, which carries its waters into the *Miſſiſipi*: Theſe laſt are better known under the name of *Ouyatanous*, from the great affinity in language; and there is ſcarce room to queſtion that the *Ouyatanous* were, not long ago, one people with the *Ilinois*. In ſhort, the greateſt part of the *Algonkin* nations, if you except thoſe more advanced towards the South, are very little employed in the cultivation of the ground, but live almoſt entirely by hunting and fiſhing; hence their diſpoſition and manner of life are far from being ſedentary, and yet they are by no means on the increaſe; but, on the contrary, diminiſh daily. Not one nation among all thoſe of this tongue is capable of reckoning ſix thouſand ſouls; ſome amount not to two thouſand.

Huron language, its extent.

The *Huron* language is very far from being as extenſive as the *Algonkin*, and the reaſon doubtleſs is, becauſe the nations who ſpeak the former are not of ſo wandering a diſpoſition as the others. The *French* writer, whom I follow in this place, tells us, that ſome pretend the language ſpoken by the *Iroquois*, or the Five Nations, to be the mother tongue. Be that as it will, all the *Indians*, living South of the river *St Laurence*, from the river *Sorel* as far as the extremity of Lake *Erie*, and even the confines of *Virginia*, talk in this language; and he who knows the *Huron* tongue is capable of underſtanding that of all the nations within this extent. There is, however, a great variety of different dialects, even almoſt as many as there are different cantons. The Five Nations, or cantons, who compoſe the *Iroquois* republic, have each of them their own peculiar dialect; nor have all thoſe nations that bear the name of *Hurons*, always ſpoken the ſame language in former times. The ſame author ſays nothing of the language of the *Cherakees*, a pretty numerous nation living amongſt thoſe vaſt ſavannas that lye between Lake *Erie* and the *Miſſiſipi*.

Remarks on the *Indians* of *Canada*.

It will, however, be proper to obſerve, that as the greateſt part of the *Indians* of *Canada* have been always from time to time in trade with one another, being ſometimes allies and ſometimes enemies, tho' the three mother or original languages I have been mentioning have no ſort of affinity or analogy, theſe nations find means, in ſpite of this obſtacle, to traffic together, without any neceſſity of an interpreter: whether it be that long and antient cuſtom has taught them to communicate their thoughts by ſigns; or that they have formed a ſort of common jargon, which they acquire by repeated uſe.

Three original tongues.

I ſhall now lay before the reader the nature and character of the languages of the *Indians*, as they occur in authors moſt worthy of credit, and on whoſe judgment we have reaſon to rely. Thoſe who pretend to have ſtudied theſe languages, affirm that each of the three abovementioned has all the characteriſtics of primitive or original tongues. What is certain is, that tney are of a very different original: This may be proved from the bare pronunciation. The *Siou Indian* rather hiſſes than ſpeaks. The *Huron* cannot pronounce any of thoſe letters called *labial*, or which are ſpoken only by means of the lips, but ſpeaks through the throat, and every ſyllable is uttered with what the grammarians call an Aſpirate before it. The *Algonkin*

pronounces

pronounces his words with more ſoftneſs, and ſpeaks much more naturally, as well as ſmoothly. As to the firſt of theſe languages I have been able to procure but very ſlight information; but, with reſpect to the two others, as the *French* miſſionaries have ſtudied them with great application, I ſhall give what *Charlevoix* ſays he had from the mouths of thoſe who had applied themſelves to this ſtudy with moſt ſucceſs.

Character of the *Huron* language.

The *Huron* language, ſays that learned miſſionary, for copiouſneſs, energy, and nobleneſs of expreſſion, exceeds all the languages in the world; and thoſe that ſpeak it, tho' but a handful of people, ſtill preſerve a dignity of ſoul, and an elevation of ſentiment, which agrees much better with the majeſty of their language, and, he might have added, with what they have in times paſt been, than with what they now are in their preſent fallen and diſtreſsful condition.

Its derivation from the *Hebrew* exploded.

Some pretend to derive their language from the *Hebrew*, which is alſo, as they ſay, the ſource from whence the *Greek* likewiſe flows. Every body knows what to think of this etymology, ſince whatever is moſt ancient and beſt, muſt all ſpring from the ſame fountain, without which there is no peace in *Iſrael*. The reader will gain but very little light on this ſubject by conſulting the vocabulary of *Gabriel Sagkard*, a Recollet of much eſteem, cited by ſome in ſupport of this moſt orthodox ſyſtem; and ſtill leſs from thoſe of *Jacques Cartier*, and the baron *La Hontan*. Theſe authors took at a venture a few expreſſions, ſome from the *Huron*, and others from the *Algonkin* tongues, which they very ill remembered, and which had often a quite contrary ſignification to what they imagined to be the ſenſe and meaning of them; an error common enough among the ſuperficial writers of travels. We will therefore paſs over the frivolous arguments they adduce on this topic, and proceed to what is founded, in my opinion, on much better authority.

Tongues compared.

The *Algonkin* has not the ſtrength of the *Huron* tongue, but it is infinitely more ſmooth and elegant. Both are however very rich in a great variety and different turns of expreſſion, together with a propriety and regularity, which are perfectly aſtoniſhing.

Illiterate nations ſpeak correctly.

But what is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that nobody ſtudies his language amongſt thoſe barbarians, or ever knew the uſe of letters or writing, and yet an ill choſen expreſſion, or an improper term, or a fault againſt the rules of Syntax, is what is never known amongſt them; and that children, in their moſt familiar diſcourſe, ſpeak with the greateſt purity and propriety. It is ſomething wonderful that this ſhould be the caſe with nations very little cultivated; and the ſame, as I have been told by thoſe who are allowed to be good critics, may be ſaid of the *Spaniards*, and of thoſe *Scotch* who have retained their antient language, which is a dialect of the old *Celtic*; and that you can never diſtinguiſh the condition of the loweſt peaſant or ſhepherd, from that of perſons of the higheſt quality, by his ſpeech or diſcourſe.

Indians underſtand the force and value of all the expreſſions they uſe, and all the beauty and delicacy of their language.

But to return from this ſhort digreſſion, the manner in which thoſe *Indians* animate every thing they ſay, leaves no room to doubt but that they underſtand the force and value of all the expreſſions they uſe, and all the beauty and delicacy of their language.

Dialects derive neither the beauty nor force of their originals.

The different dialects derived from either of the mother tongues, have preſerved neither the beauty nor force of their originals. The *Tſonnonthouans*, for inſtance, one of the cantons of the *Iroquois* or Five Nations, are thought, by the other *Indians*, to ſpeak after a very rude and unpoliſhed manner.

Conſtruction of the *Huron* Grammar.

In the *Huron* language every word is declined, and they have a ſingular method, but what is at the ſame time very difficult to expreſs, to mark the difference of verbs, nouns, pronouns, and the other parts of ſpeech. Simple verbs have a double conjugation, the one abſolute and the other reciprocal: The third perſons have two genders, this language having no neuter gender. As to numbers and tenſes, there are the ſame differences as in the *Greek*; as, for inſtance, in ſpeaking of going a journey, you expreſs yourſelf differently if that journey be by land, from what you do if it be by water. There are as many different kinds of active verbs as there are things expreſſed by them; for example, the word *to eat*, has as many variations as there are different ſorts of eatables. In ſpeaking of any living creature, you expreſs the verb quite different from what you do in ſpeaking of an inanimate thing. Thus, when you ſpeak of *ſeeing a man*, and again of *ſeeing a ſtone*, you make uſe of two

different verbs. To ſpeak of uſing a thing which is your own, and of what belongs to another, the verb is quite different.

Defects of the *Indian* languages.

There is ſomewhat pretty much like this in the *Algonkin* tongue, tho' differing in the manner, the detail of which is of very little conſequence after what has been ſaid of the *Huron*. If the great richneſs and variety of expreſſion in thoſe two languages render them extremely difficult to be learned, there is no leſs inconvenience ariſing from their exceeding poverty and barrenneſs in ſupplying terms for our ideas and conceptions. For as thoſe nations, when the *Europeans* firſt began to have any dealings with them, were almoſt entirely ignorant of every thing but what was in uſe among themſelves, and what fell immediately under the cognizance of their ſenſes, they wanted terms to expreſs other notions, or, if they once had ſuch terms, they had by degrees forgot the uſe of them. Thus having no regular form of worſhip, and forming but very indiſtinct notions of the deity, and of every thing relating to religion, and never making any reflexions, except on ſuch things as were perceptible to the ſenſes, or what related to their affairs, and theſe very much limited; and unaccuſtomed to ſpeak of the virtues, paſſions, and many other topicks of common converſation with us; being entirely ignorant of all arts, except thoſe that were neceſſary to their ſtate and condition, and which are reducible to a very ſmall number; having no knowledge of the ſciences, and obſerving only what was within their reach, and being entirely ignorant of the ſuperfluities or refinements of poliſhed life; when there was occaſion to diſcourſe of all theſe points, then it was that the vaſt defects of their language were diſcovered; ſo that you were obliged to make uſe of numberleſs circumlocutions, which were extremely tedious and perplexing to You, and not a little puzzling, not to ſay almoſt unintelligible to Them. Hence you were firſt of all obliged to learn Their language, and afterwards to teach Them another, partly compoſed of their own terms, and partly of thoſe of the *European* languages, and thoſe again transformed and modelled after the *Huron* or *Algonkin* manner, in order to facilitate the underſtanding of it, as well as its pronunciation to them. As for letters they had none, the want of which they ſupplied by a kind of hieroglyphics; and they were quite confounded to ſee the *Europeans* read their thoughts as quick, and explain themſelves with the ſame facility in writing, as they could in ſpeaking.

Causes

Original tongues how known.

If it is aſked, how we come to know the *Sioux*, the *Huron*, and the *Algonkin* to be mother languages, and not thoſe which we look upon as dialects, the anſwer is, that nothing can poſſibly be more eaſy: All theſe nations have ſomewhat of the manner and genius of the *Aſiatics* in their way of ſpeaking, which conſiſts in giving a figurative turn to their thoughts and expreſſions; from whence ſome have probably been led to believe they draw their origin from *Aſia*, a conjecture rational enough, and deducible from a variety of circumſtances.

Advantageous character of the *Huron* nations.

The nations of the *Huron* language are always more employed than the other *Indians* about the cultivating of their lands and in country affairs; they are alſo leſs diſperſed abroad. This ſtate and management have produced two effects; for, in the firſt place, they are better ſettled, better lodged, better fortified, have always a much better police, and a more diſtinct form of government, the dignity of the chief, at leaſt among the *Tionnontates*, who are the true *Hurons*, being hereditary. And, ſecondly, their country, at leaſt before their wars with the *Iroquois*, of which *Charlevoix* ſays he was an eye witneſs, was much more populous, tho' polygamy was never allowed or known among them. They have alſo the character of being much more induſtrious, more expert in their buſineſs, and more prudent and provident in their conduct. All theſe good qualities can only proceed from the ſpirit of ſociety, which they have better maintained than the other *Indian* nations. This is chiefly obſervable amongſt the *Hurons*, who, tho' they ſcarce deſerve the name of a nation at preſent, and are reduced to two indifferent villages, and thoſe conſiderably diſtant from one another, are, however, the life and ſoul of all their aſſemblies and councils, in which the public buſineſs is debated.

Reſemblance between *Indians*, whence.

It is alſo true that with all this difference, which is not perceivable at the firſt glance, there is ſtill a great reſemblance in the qualities of the mind, in the manners, and in the cuſtoms of all the *Indians* of *Canada*, which is undoubtedly owing to their intercourſe, and to the traffic they have conſtantly carried on with one another, from the remoteſt antiquity.

Thus much may ſuffice with reſpect to the languages ſpoken by the different *Indian* nations in *Canada*: We will next give, in as few words as poſſible, what relates

to

to their manner of declaring and making war. The declaration of war, according to *Charlevoix* is in this manner: About ten or eleven at night, says that writer, as I was going to bed, I heard a shouting, which I was told was the war-cry, and soon after I saw a company of *Mississagues* make their entry into the fort near the bay called *l'Anse de la Famine*. Some years ago those *Indians* having engaged in the war which the Five Nations made on the *Cherokees*, a numerous people, occupying a very fine country to the South of Lake *Erie*, three or four of those bravos equipped as for masquerades, with their faces daubed over, so as to inspire the spectators with horror, and followed almost by all the *Indians* living in the neighbourhood, after having rambled over every hut or cabbin, singing their war songs to the sound of an instrument they call *Chichikoué*, being a great gourd filled with pebbles, came to perform the same ceremony through the different parts of the fort, by way of compliment to the commandant and other officers. I must confess, says *Charlevoix*, that this ceremony has something extremely horrible in it, the first time one sees it especially, and before I recollected I was amongst barbarians. Their songs have a dismal and melancholy air, with a mixture of horror and affright, occasioned perhaps by the darkness of the night, and by the pageantry of the festival, for this is really such amongst the *Indians*. All this was intended as an invitation to the *Iroquois*, who being weary of the charge of the war, or perhaps because they were not in a humour for it, asked some time to consider of it, and so departed each to his home. *Indian* manner of declaring war.

It appears that they invoke in these songs the god of war, called by the *Hurons*, *Areskoui*, and by the *Iroquois*, *Agreskoué*; but we are not informed what name he has amongst the *Algonkin* nations. The relation of this name to that of Ares, the *Greek* name for that god, is very singular: For *Aregouen* in the *Huron* and *Iroquois* language signifies to make war, and is conjugated thus: *Garego*, I make war; *Sarego*, thou makest war; *Arego*, he maketh war. Besides, *Areskoni* is not only the *Mars* of those nations, but also the sovereign of the gods, or, as they express themselves, the Great Spirit, the creator and master of the universe, the genius who governs all things, but he is chiefly invoked in military expeditions, as if the most honourable attribute of the deity were that of being intitled the God of Armies. *Areskoui*, the *Indian* god of war.

The shouting of this name is what makes the war-cry before the fight begins, as well as in the heat and fury of the battle; and it is often repeated too on a march, as well to encourage themselves to undergo the fatigues with chearfulness, as to implore this god's support and assistance. War-cry.

To lift up the hatchet is another form of declaring war; and every individual has an incontestable right to this privilege, except amongst the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*, where the matrons make peace and war at their pleasure. We shall see in its proper place, how far their authority extends among these nations. Lifting up the hatchet, a symbol of war

If a matron has a mind to engage any one, however independent of her, to serve in the war, whether to appease the manes of her husband, son, or near relation, or whether it is only that she may have some prisoners to replace those she might have lost by death or captivity, she is first to present him with a collar of porcelain, or sea-shells; and it is very rarely known that this gratification is without effect. Matrons engage soldiers.

When the business concerns making war in form between two or more nations, the expression, or symbol, on this occasion, is, to hang the chaldron, or kettle, over the fire; and this no doubt derives its original from the barbarous custom of eating their prisoners, as well as the slain, after boiling them. They plainly say, in their simple manner, that they are preparing to eat such a nation, to signify that they intend to make a cruel war against them, and they generally fulfil their promise. When they intend to engage their ally in the quarrel, they send him a porcelain, that is, a large shell, to invite him to drink the blood, or, as the terms literally import, the soup or broth made of the flesh of their enemies. After all, this practice may be very ancient, tho' it by no means follows from hence, that those nations have always been anthropophages, or cannibals; and perhaps it is only an allegorical way of speaking, of which the scriptures afford us several examples. *David*'s enemies, it is likely, were not used to eat human flesh, tho' he says, *Dum approperant super me nocentes, ut edant carnes meas.* When the wicked, even mine enemies came upon me to eat up my flesh. Thus at last, it seems, certain nations, grown quite savage and brutal, substituted the reality for the figure. Hanging the kettle over the fire, a warlike symbol.

Porcelains, their deſcription and uſe.

Theſe porcelains, or what they call *Wampum*, as before mentioned, are certain ſhells found on the coaſts of *New England* and *Virginia*; they are long, fluted or chanelled, of an oblong acute figure, without ears, and moderately thick. The fleth of the animal contained in them is bad eating, but their inſide is of ſo beautiful a luſtre, and the colours are ſo vivid, that art is capable of producing nothing comparable to it. In thoſe times when the *Indians* went quite naked, theſe ſhells ſerved them for the ſame uſes as *Adam*'s fig-leaf, when he became ſenſible of his guilt and ſhame together. They alſo wore them at their ears like pendants, and ſtill eſteem them as their greateſt wealth, and fineſt ornament; and, in ſhort, they have exactly the ſame idea of them that we have of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. *Jacques Cartier*, in his memoirs, ſpeaks of a ſort of ſhell-work made in form of cornices, which he ſays he found in the iſland of *Montreal*. He calls it *Eſurgni*, and affirms it had a virtue in it of ſtopping bleedings at the noſe. It is not unlikely this work conſiſts of the ſame ſhells with thoſe here mentioned; but there are none ſuch to be found on the banks of the Iſland of *Montreal*, and it is not pretended that thoſe ſhells have the virtue attributed to the ſhell-work of *Cartier*. There are two ſorts of theſe ſhells; the one white, and the other of a violet colour. The firſt are the moſt common, and poſſibly, on that account, leſs valued: The ſecond ſeems to take a fine poliſh; and the deeper, the more valuable they are eſteemed. Both of them, however, are made into ſmall oblong or cylindrical beads, which are bored and ſtringed together, and theſe are called necklaces or belts of Wampum. Theſe necklaces are no other than four or five threads or thongs of ſkins, about a foot in length, ſtrung with thoſe beads of porcelain. The collars are made in form of fillets, or diadems, compoſed of thoſe necklaces, bound together with threads ſo as to make a contexture of four, five, ſix, or ſeven rows of beads of a due proportion in length. All theſe circumſtances are regulated according to the importance of the buſineſs to be negociated, and the rank and quality of the perſons to whom the collar is to be preſented.

Their uſes, [illegible] and are worn of the [illegible]

By the different mixture of thoſe beads of various colours, they form any character at pleaſure, and this often ſerves to diſtinguiſh the buſineſs in agitation. They are alſo ſometimes painted; at leaſt, it is certain the red collars are often ſent when war is upon the tapis. Theſe collars are preſerved with care, and not only compoſe part of the public treaſury, but are alſo in the nature of annals and regiſters, which thoſe to whom the care of the archives, which are depoſited in the chief's cabbin, is entruſted, are to make the ſubject of their ſtudies. When there happen to be two chiefs of equal authority in one village, the care of the archives and treaſury devolves upon them by turns, and each has his own night, which night, as it is taken at preſent, is ſuppoſed to laſt a whole year.

None but affairs of great conſequence are tranſacted by means of thoſe collars; for thoſe of leſs importance, they make uſe of brooches, or necklaces of porcelain, ſkins, coverings, maiz, or *Indian* corn, either in grain, or flower, and ſuch like matters, for all theſe conſtitute part of the public treaſury. When the buſineſs is to invite ſome village or nation to enter into a league, or alliance with them, a flag dipped in blood is ſometimes ſent inſtead of a collar. But this cuſtom is modern, and there is reaſon to think that the *Indians* have taken the firſt hint of it from the red flags of the *Engliſh*. Some aſſert that the *French* firſt uſed theſe red enſigns in tranſacting with the *Indians*, who from thence have taken the hint to ſtain their flags with blood when they intend to declare war.

Bloody flag ſubſtituted for a collar.

The calumet, or pipe, is no leſs ſacred among thoſe nations than the collar of porcelain, and is, according to their notion, even of divine original, for they are perſuaded that it was a preſent made them by the Sun. This inſtrument is more in uſe among the Southern and Weſtern nations, than thoſe of the North and Eaſt, and is more commonly uſed in treaties of peace than in war. As to the name of *calumet*, which the *French* give it, it is a *Norman* word, ſignifying a *reed*, or *pipe*; and the calumet of the *Indians* is properly the tube, ſhaft, or funnel, of a tobacco-pipe, though both the ſhaft and the pipe together are commonly meant by this word. In the calumets, or pipes, of ſtate or ceremony, the tube is very long, and the pipe in form of one of our battle-axes: It is commonly made of a reddiſh marble, very eaſy to work, and is found in the country of the *Arkanſez*, beyond the *Miſſiſipi*. The tunnel is of light wood, painted with different colours, and adorned with the heads, tails, and feathers of the moſt beautiful birds; but this is probably for ornament ſake only.

The

The cuſtom is to ſmoke in this pipe when the propoſal is accepted, and it is very rare, or perhaps without example, that the obligation impoſed by this acceptance has ever been violated. The *Indians* are perſuaded, that the ſovereign ſpirit would never ſuffer ſuch an infraction to paſs unpuniſhed. If an enemy in the midſt of an engagement preſents the pipe, it is lawful to reject the offer; but if it is once accepted, the party conſenting muſt that moment refrain from all hoſtilities. There are pipes for all the variety of treaties that may be brought upon the tapis; even in commerce with one another, after the agreement is made, the pipe is preſented to ratify the tranſaction, and this ceremony gives it the ſtamp and ſanction of religion. When the buſineſs is concerning war, not only the pipe then uſed, but alſo the feathers with which it is adorned, are red: Sometimes thoſe on one ſide only are of this colour; and it is pretended, that by the manner in which the ornaments are diſpoſed, you may diſcover what nation is deſigned to be attacked by thoſe who preſent this inſtrument. Its ſacred and manifold uſes

There is no manner of queſtion, but that the *Indians*, by inducing thoſe, whoſe alliance or commerce they ſollicit, to ſmoke in the pipe, intend to make the Sun the witneſs and guarantee of the treaty; for they never fail to puff the ſmoke towards that luminary: but to ſay that, from this practice, as well as from the common uſe of thoſe pipes, we are to infer, as ſome have done, that this pipe is the *Caduceus*, or wand of *Mercury*, is the leſs probable, as this wand had no relation to the Sun. And ſince there has nothing been found in the traditions of the *Indians* that can juſtify this conjecture, and much leſs to prove they could have any knowledge of the *Greek* mythology, it would be much more natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe nations, inſtructed by experience that the ſmoke of their tobacco diſſipates the vapours of the brain, and diſpoſes the perſon that uſes it for debating on public affairs, and has therefore been introduced into the public councils, where they have always their pipes in their mouths; they could not imagine a more proper ſymbol to confirm what has been reſolved, than this inſtrument, which has had ſo great a ſhare in the public deliberations. It will perhaps appear more obvious ſtill to imagine that thoſe people believed the moſt natural type of an indiſſoluble union was to ſmoke in the ſame pipe, and eſpecially if that ſmoke were offered to ſome divinity, to confer on it the ſanction of religion. Thus ſmoking in the ſame pipe is equivalent to drinking in one cup, which has been an immemorial cuſtom among many nations; and theſe are cuſtoms too natural to the mind of man, to ſearch for any hidden myſtery in them. Reaſons and intent of this practice.

The largeneſs and ornaments of thoſe pipes which are preſented to perſons of diſtinction, and on occaſions of importance, have nothing very myſterious in them. It is to the *Panis*, a nation ſettled on the banks of the *Miſſouri*, and extending very far towards the confines of *New Mexico*, to whom the pretend they pipe was given as a preſent by the Sun. Thus this cuſtom, which they were the firſt to introduce, has been raiſed to the rank of a miracle, and all that can be conjectured from this tradition is, that poſſibly the *Panis* have been more anciently accuſtomed to pay divine honours to the Sun, than the other *Indian* nations on this part of the continent of *America*, and that they were the firſt who made uſe of the pipe as a ſymbol of the inviolable obligation of treaties. Uſe of the calumet introduced.

It is very rarely that theſe *Indians* refuſe to engage in a war, to which they have been invited by their allies; on the contrary, they ſeldom wait till they are called to take up arms, the leaſt motive being ſufficient to determine them to it. But the thirſt of vengeance is the predominant motive with them, and they have always ſome recent or ancient injury to revenge, no length of time being capable of healing thoſe wounds, though of the ſlighteſt kind. Thus you can never be ſure of a laſting peace between two nations that have been at variance for any conſiderable time; and, on the other hand, the deſire of replacing their dead ſlaves by taking of priſoners, or of appeaſing the manes of the deceaſed, the caprice of ſome individual, a dream, which every one interprets after his own fancy, with other reaſons or pretexts equally frivolous, occaſion your frequently ſeeing a company ſet out on an expedition to-day, who but yeſterday had no thought of hoſtilities. *Indians* mindful of injuries

It is true, that thoſe ſmaller expeditions, which are carried into execution without the advice of the council, have generally no great conſequences; and as they require not any great preparations, they are not the object of public concern. But, in general, the graver ſenators are far from being diſſatisfied to ſee the youth keep themſelves in Ways of moderating the martial ardour of their youth.

breath,

breath, and exercise their warlike genius, and there must be very extraordinary reasons to curb their natural ardour, before they are restrained; and the public authority is besides very seldom employed to this end, every one being master of his own resolutions and actions amongst the *Indians*. When they disapprove of their project, they try to intimidate them, partly by spreading false reports; others they win over underhand; and it is no very difficult matter to induce the leader to give over the enterprize by presents: Sometimes a dream, true or false, no matter which, is all that is wanted for the purpose. In some nations the last resource is to apply to the matrons, and this is seldom without effect, though never made use of except in matters of great importance.

Preliminaries of war.

A war in which the whole nation is interested is not so easily resolved, but weighed with great deliberation, putting the inconveniences into the scale as well as the advantages; and all the while the affair is under deliberation, the utmost care is taken to keep their designs from the ears of the enemy. The war once resolved, the first thing to be done is, to provide provisions for the campaign, and to equip the warriours, which takes up no great length of time. The dances, songs, feasts, together with certain superstitious ceremonies, which vary considerably according to the use of different nations, require a much longer time.

Ceremonious preparation and speech of the general.

The person appointed to command never thinks of levying soldiers till after a fast of several days, during which he is bedaubed with black, has no converse with any person, and calls night and day on his tutelar genius; but, above all, is very careful to observe his dreams, which the persuasion that he is marching to a certain victory never fails to render favourable. The fast once ended, he convenes his friends, and, with a belt of wampum in his hands, addresses them in these words. "My brethren, the sovereign spirit authorises my designs, and inspires me with my present resolutions. The blood of such a one has not been wiped off; his corpse has not been covered, and I am going to discharge this office towards him." After expatiating on the other motives which have determined him to take up arms, he then proceeds; "I am therefore resolved to march to such a place, to take scalps, or to make prisoners"; or, "I am going to eat such a nation. If I fall in this glorious enterprise, or if any of those who shall accompany me shall lose his life in it, this belt will serve to receive us, that we may not remain hid in the dust or mud." By this seems to be meant, that this belt is to be the property of him who shall bury or avenge the slain.

Having pronounced these words, he throws the belt upon the ground, and he that takes it up declares himself his lieutenant, for which he receives the thanks of the general for the zeal he thus testifies to avenge his brethren, or to support the honour of the nation. The company then set about heating water, to wash the chief from the daubing with which he has been smeared, after which they comb and anoint, or paint his locks. His face is then painted with different colours, and he is attired in his most splendid apparel. Thus equipped, he chaunts, with a hollow and dismal tone of voice, the song of death; his soldiers, I mean all those who have offered themselves as volunteers in the expedition, (for no person is compelled to go) bawl out one after another the war-song; for each individual has one peculiar to himself, which no person besides is permitted to sing; and there are also songs appropriated to certain families.

[illegible] ceremonies of [illegible] and war

After this preliminary, which is transacted in some remote place, and oftentimes in a hut, the chief goes to communicate his project to the council, which sits to deliberate upon its expediency, without admitting the author of the scheme to be present at their debates. As soon as the project is accepted, the general gives a repast, in which the chief, and sometimes the sole viands is a dog. Some pretend, that this animal is offered to the god of war before he is put into the chaldron, or kettle; and this may possibly be customary with some nations: What is certain is, that on this occasion they make repeated invocations to all the genii, whether good or evil, and, above all, to the god of war.

[illegible] and feast of a dog

All this ceremony lasts some days, or rather is repeated for several days successively; but amidst this universal attention to what passes on this occasion, every family keeps sight of its particular interests, and is very sollicitous and intent on taking measures for securing its share of the prisoners of war, either to replace the slave, they may have lost by mortality, or to avenge the dead. In this view they give presents to the chief, who on his part gives his word as a pledge for the performance of his promise. In the default of

[illegible] and [illegible]

prisoners,

priſoners, their next demand is to have ſcalps, which is more eaſily granted. In ſome particular places, as among the *Iroquois*, as ſoon as any military expedition has been reſolved, the war kettle is ſet over the fire, and the allies are required to ſend ſomewhat to it, to ſhew their approbation of the enterpriſe, and to ſignify their reſolution to bear a part in it.

All thoſe who enroll themſelves give alſo to the chief, as a ſymbol of their engagement, a bit of wood with their mark upon it; and whoever after this ſhould draw back, would be in danger of his life, or at leaſt would certainly be diſgraced for ever. The party or company, once formed, the war-chief prepares a new feaſt, to which all the village is invited, and where, before any thing is taſted, he, or an orator for him, and in his name pronounces theſe words: "My brethren, I know that as yet I am altogether unworthy of the honour of being eſteemed a man; but you yourſelves can bear me witneſs, that I have however ſeen the face of an enemy. We have been ſlain, the bones of ſuch and ſuch perſons remain yet unburied, they cry out againſt us, and they muſt have ſatisfaction. They were men; how then were we able ſo ſoon to forget them, and to remain ſo long quiet on our mats? In ſhort, the genius, who is watchful for my glory, has inſpired me with the reſolution to avenge them. Youth! take courage, trim your locks, paint your viſage, fill your quivers, and cauſe your foreſts to reſound with your war-ſongs; let us relieve the departed, and ſhew them that their avengers are ready at hand."

War ſymbol.

General's oration.

After this harangue, and the applauſes with which it never fails to be attended, the chief advances into the middle of the aſſembly, with his battle-ax in his hand, and there ſings his ſong, all his ſoldiers make reſponſes ſinging, and ſwear to ſecond him to the utmoſt of their power, or to die in the cauſe. All this is accompanied with geſtures highly expreſſive of their firm reſolution never to give ground before an enemy.

War-cry.

But it is to be obſerved, that not a word eſcapes from any ſoldier that diſcovers the leaſt dependance. The whole of their engagement conſiſts in promiſing to act with the moſt perfect union. And, beſides, this very engagement requires great returns on the part of the chief. For example, whenever any *Indian*, in the public dances, ſtriking with his battle-ax upon a pillar erected for that purpoſe, recalls to the remembrance of the audience his nobleſt feats of arms, the chief under whoſe conduct he has performed them is obliged to make him a preſent; at leaſt this is the cuſtom amongſt ſome nations.

Military obligations among *Indians*.

The ſongs are followed by dances; ſometimes they are only a fierce ſort of march, but always in cadence; and at other times very animated motions, figurative of the operations of a campaign, and always too in cadence: In fine, the feaſt ends the ceremony. The war-chief is no more than a ſpectator in it, with his pipe in his mouth; and it is even common enough for him who gives the repaſt, and does the honours of it, not to touch any thing.

Military dance & feaſt.

The following days, and till the march or departure of the warriors, are ſpent in tranſactions no way intereſting, and not at all uniform or conſtant. But I ought not to forget a cuſtom which is ſingular enough, and with which the *Iroquois* eſpecially never diſpenſe. It appears to have been contrived to diſcover thoſe who are endowed with ſolid good ſenſe, and who are capable of governing themſelves; for thoſe people whom we treat as barbarians, cannot conceive that a man can be animated with true courage, who is not maſter of his paſſions, and who knows not how to bear every thing, even the ſharpeſt tryal that can happen to him.

Iroquois conceive good ſenſe and true courage.

The oldeſt warriors of the company deſtined for the campaign play all the tricks imaginable to the youths, and eſpecially to ſuch as have never as yet ſeen an enemy. They throw hot embers on their heads, make them the moſt cruel and provoking reproaches, load them with all manner of injuries; and even puſh this farce to dreadful extremities. The young volunteers are however obliged to bear all this pain and provocation with the moſt perfect indifference, and even inſenſibility; for to diſcover the ſmalleſt ſign of impatience, would be ſufficient to expoſe them to the cenſure of being declared incapable of carrying arms for the future. But, when this ceremony is practiſed amongſt perſons of the ſame age, which very often happens, the aggreſſor muſt take care to do nothing that denotes the leaſt tendency to an inſult, otherwiſe it is ſure to be revenged as ſoon as the game is ended. For all the time it continues, they are to bear every thing without the leaſt murmur, though this paſtime often goes

Indians try the youth with patience and fortitude.

goes ſuch lengths as throwing fire-brands at one anothers heads, and giving one another great blows with cudgels.

Artifices of *Indian* quacks

As the hope of being cured of their wounds contributes much to engage the braveſt of theſe youths to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers, after what has been related they ſet about preparing the medicines with which their phyſicians or jongleurs are loaded. The whole canton being aſſembled, one of theſe quacks declares that he is going to communicate to the roots and plants, of which he has amaſſed a ſufficient quantity, the virtue of healing all ſorts of wounds, and even of reſtoring the dead to life. That inſtant he begins to ſing, the other quacks of the order make reſponſes, and it is believed that, during the concert, which is none of the moſt melodious, but accompanied with many grimaces on the part of the actors in the farce, the medicinal or healing quality is diffuſed over thoſe ſimples. The principal jongleur, which is the name for theſe quacks in my authors, then takes upon him to prove their efficacy; and begins by cauſing his lips to bleed; on this he applies the remedy he has prepared for it; immediately the blood, which this hedge-doctor ſucks with abundance of art, ceaſes to flow, on which all the aſſiſtants cry out *a miracle!* This done, he takes a dead animal, ſets it before the aſſembly, allowing them time ſufficient to examine whether it is entirely ſuch as it appears. He then cauſes it to move by means of a canule, or pipe, which he had taken care to inſert in its tail, blowing up, at the ſame time, his doſe of the herbs, by virtue of which this miraculous reſurrection is to be performed, on which the cries of wonder and aſtoniſhment are redoubled. To cloſe all, the company of jongleurs make the tour of the huts, ſinging as they march the praiſes of the virtues of thoſe wonderful remedies. Theſe artifices are however far from impoſing upon the natural good ſenſe of the *Indians*, they ſerve however to amuſe the multitude, and every body knows the force of cuſtom.

Indian ſolemn ſacrifice.

The following ſolemnity, which is extracted from the memoirs of a *French* gentleman, who was himſelf an eye witneſs to it, is practiſed amongſt the *Miamis*, to whom it is probably common with ſome other *Indian* nations living in the neighbourhood of *Louiſiana*. After a ſolemn feaſt, the figure of pagods made of bear-ſkins, and their heads painted green, are placed on a kind of altar before which all the *Indians* paſs, making genuflexions, their jongleurs leading the band, and holding in their hands a bag, filled with all the utenſils commonly uſed in their invocations. He that makes the greateſt contorſions of body, and every one in proportion as he diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this exerciſe, is applauded with prodigious acclamations. The firſt homage thus rendered to the idols, all the company dance in great confuſion, to the ſound of a drum and a Chichicoué, during which, ſome jongleurs ſeem as if employed about enchanting a number of *Indians*, who appear to expire under their incantations, but are afterwards happily brought to life again by the application of a certain powder to the lips. After the farce has laſted ſome time, the preſident of the feaſt, attended by two men and two women walking on each ſide, paſſes through all the huts, and advertiſes the *Indians* that the ſacrifices are ready to begin. If he meets any one in his way, he places both hands on his head, whilſt the other embraces his knees. The victims offered are always dogs, and nothing is heard but the cries of thoſe animals which they are ſtrangling, and the howlings of the *Indians*, who ſeem to mock or make reſponſes to them. When the viands are ready, they are firſt offered to their pagods, after which they are eaten, and the bones afterwards burnt. In the mean time the jongleurs are buſied in raiſing the dead, and the whole is terminated by making preſents to thoſe quacks of whatever they moſt deſire of all that the village or canton affords.

Preparations of war.

From the time of the reſolution of making war to the departure of the warriors for the campaign, the nights are paſſed in ſinging, and the days in making the neceſſary preparations. Warriors and others are deputed to ſing the war-ſong amongſt their neighbours and allies, whom they often take care to prepare before hand, by means of ſecret negociations. If the expedition is to be undertaken by water, they build new, or repair the old canoes: If it be in the winter ſeaſon, they provide raquets or ſnow-ſhoes, and ſleds.

ſnow-ſhoes deſcribed

The firſt of theſe, which are abſolutely neceſſary to walk upon the ſnow, are about three foot long, and fifteen or ſixteen inches wide where broadeſt; they are of an oval figure, excepting only that the hinder extremity always ends in a point. Small ſticks faſtened acroſs, about five or ſix inches from either end, ſerve to ſtrengthen them

them, the foremoſt being like the ſtring of an opening in the ſhape of a bow, which receives the foot, and is tied down with thongs. The texture of the raquette or ſnow-ſhoe, conſiſts of ſtraps of leather about two lines in breadth, bordered with ſome light wood hardened in the fire. To walk well on theſe ſnow-ſhoes you muſt turn your knees ſomewhat inwards, keeping your legs aſunder at the ſame time. It is difficult enough to learn the uſe of them, but afterwards you walk as eaſily and with as little fatigue as if you had nothing on your feet. It is impoſſible to make uſe of theſe with common ſhoes, and you are obliged to take thoſe of the *Indians*, which are a ſort of ſocks made of dried hides, folded over the extremity of the foot, and tied with cords.

Deſcription of a ſled.

The ſleds which ſerve for tranſporting the baggage, and in caſe of need the ſick and wounded, are two ſmall and very thin boards, each about ſix inches broad, and from ſix to ſeven feet in length. The foreparts are ſomewhat raiſed, and the ſides bordered with ſmall tenter-hooks, to which are fixed thongs for faſtening down whatever is laid on the carriage. One *Indian* will draw a ſled, however loaded, with eaſe, by means of a long leathern ſtrap, which is faſtened to him, coming over his breaſt, and which they call a collar. The ſleds are alſo uſed for carrying burdens, and mothers make uſe of them likewiſe for tranſporting their children with their cradles; but in this laſt caſe, they paſs them over their foreheads and not over their breaſts as in the former.

Ceremonies preparatory to the march.

Every thing being ready, and the day appointed for their departure come, they take their farewell with many and ſtrong marks of the moſt unfeigned affection. Every one is willing to have ſomething which has been uſed or worn by the warriors, giving them at the ſame time pledges of their own friendſhip, and aſſurances of an eternal remembrance. As for the warriors they go into no hut, where they are not obliged to leave their robe, which they always exchange for a better, and never without one at leaſt as good. At laſt they all meet at the apartment of the chief, whom they find armed as on the day when he firſt propoſed the expedition to them, and as he appears in public from that day forwards. The warriors have their faces painted, every one according to his fancy, and all of them generally ſo as to ſtrike terror. The chief, after a ſhort harangue, leaves his cabbin, ſinging the ſong of death as he goes; all of them follow him in file, or one by one, obſerving a profound ſilence, and the ſame is done every morning when they begin or continue their march. Here the women go before with the proviſions, and when joined by the warriors, they deliver all the baggage into their hands, themſelves remaining almoſt naked, at leaſt as much as the ſeaſon will permit.

Arms of the *Indians* offenſive and defenſive.

The weapons of the *Indians* were formerly the bow and arrow, and a kind of javelin, headed or pointed, as well as the arrow, with bone worked into various ſhapes, and the battle-ax, or, as they call it, the break-head. This weapon was a ſmall club of a very hard wood, which had a round head and an edge on one ſide. The greateſt part of them had no defenſive arms, ſave only that they covered their bodies all over with ſmall boards of a light ſubſtance. Some wore a ſort of cuiraſs made of ruſhes interwoven, or of ſmall pliable rods very neatly worked. In antient times they were not without pieces for the arms and thighs made of the ſame materials; but as this armour was found not to be proof againſt fire arms, they have laid it entirely aſide, and have ſince ſubſtituted nothing in its place. The Weſtern *Indians*, however, ſtill uſe a ſort of bucklers made of bulls hides, which are very light, and, ſays my author, muſket proof. It is ſomewhat odd that the other *Indians* never bethought themſelves of this piece of armour.

What is very ſingular, when they make uſe of our ſwords, they handle them like a pike: But when they can procure muſkets, powder, and ball, they lay aſide their bows and arrows, and are excellent markſmen. The *Dutch* of *New York*, when that colony was in their poſſeſſion, are ſaid to have been the firſt who ſupplied the *Indians* with fire arms, and to have taught them the uſe of them. The *French* followed their example, by arming their *Indian* allies after the *European* manner. The *Indians*, have alſo a kind of enſigns or colours to diſtinguiſh their own people, and to help them to rally. Theſe are ſmall pieces of bark, cut into a round form, which they faſten to the end of a pole, and on which is drawn the mark of their village or nation. If the party be numerous, every tribe or family has its own enſign with its diſtin-

The Indian enſign.

guiſhing mark. Their arms are alſo ornamented with different figures, and ſometimes with the peculiar mark of the chief in the expedition.

Their Manitous, ſymbols

But there is ſomewhat of which they are ſtill leſs forgetful than even of their arms, and which they are infinitely more careful to preſerve, and that is their manitous, which are ſo many ſymbols repreſenting the tutelar genius, or familiar ſpirit of each individual. Theſe they put altogether into a bag made of ruſhes, and painted with different colours; and oftentimes, to do honour to the chief, this bag is placed on the prow of his galley, that is, his canoe. If there are too many manitous to be contained in one bag, they are diſtributed into ſeveral, which are committed to the care of the lieutenant, and a guard compoſed of the elders of each family. To theſe are joined the preſents which have been given in order to receive priſoners in exchange, and the tongues of all the animals killed in the campaign, which are to be offered up as a ſacrifice to the ſpirits on their return.

Mark of diſtinction.

On a march by land, the chief carries his own bag, which he calls his matt; but he may lay his burden on whom he thinks proper, and this is never ſcrupled, being looked upon as a mark of diſtinction, and communicating, in ſome ſort, a right of ſurvivorſhip to the ſupreme command, ſhould the chief and his lieutenant happen to fall before the campaign is ended.

March of the warriours to the field

When they are to proceed by water, as ſoon as the warriors are embarked, the canoes move gently onwards, keeping always in a line in cloſe order; then the chief riſes up, and holding in his hand his chichicoué, he ſings aloud the war-ſong peculiar to himſelf, his ſoldiers anſwering with three *He's*, for that is their manner of ſhouting, fetched with all their might from the bottom of their breaſts. The elders and chiefs of the council, who remain on the ſhore, next exhort the warriors to diſcharge their duty like men, and above all things to take care of being ſurprized. This of all injunctions is what an *Indian* ſtands moſt in need of, and of which theſe people are the leaſt mindful. This exhortation does not however interrupt the chief, who ſtill continues his ſong. Laſtly, the warriors, on their part, conjure their relations and friends never to forget them; then, after ſending forth in a body the moſt horrible ſhouts, they ſet out at once, and with ſo much ſpeed, that they diſappear in an inſtant.

Their proceedings.

The *Hurons* and *Iroquois* uſe not the chichicoué, but give it to their priſoners, ſo that this inſtrument, which is a warlike ſymbol to the other *Indians*, ſeems to be a mark of ſlavery with them. The warriors never make ſhort marches, eſpecially when in any conſiderable body. Every thing is an omen of good or bad ſucceſs with them; and the jongleurs, whoſe office it is to explain theſe omens, haſten or retard the marches at their pleaſure. While they are not in a ſuſpected country, they take no manner of precaution, and ſometimes they are ſo diſperſed in hunting, that you will ſcarce find two or three warriors together; but however ſcattered they may be on their march, they are always ſure to re-aſſemble punctually at the time and place appointed for the rendezvous.

Invocation of their manitous

They encamp a conſiderable while before ſun-ſet, and their way is commonly to leave a conſiderable ſpace before the camp, which is ſurrounded with a paliſade, or rather a ſort of lattice work, on which they place their manitous, turned towards the way their march or rout lies. Theſe ſymbols are then invoked during the ſpace of an hour, and the ſame act of devotion is performed every morning before they decamp. This done, they imagine they have nothing to fear, being perſuaded that the genii or ſpirits take upon them the office of centinels, and the whole army repoſes in ſecurity under their ſafe-guard. No experience is able to undeceive or deter them from this idle and dangerous confidence, which takes it riſe from a lazy and indolent diſpoſition, which nothing can overcome.

Encouragement of allies.

The warriors hold as enemies all they meet on their march. If they ſhould happen, however, to meet with allies, or with parties nearly of equal force with themſelves, and of nations with whom they have no particular quarrel, they make a coalition. If thoſe allies happen to have been making war on the ſame nation, the chief of the ſtronger body, or that which has firſt taken up arms, gives the other ſome ſcalps, of which they never fail to make proviſion for thoſe occaſions, with theſe words: "You are our aſſociates in this cauſe; you have fulfilled your engagements; "your honour is ſecured; and you are free to return home." But this is to be underſtood only in caſe of an accidental rencounter, and provided they have not promiſed to go out with them, and that the others have no need of any re-inforcement.

When

When they are on the point of entering the enemies country, they make a halt, in order to perform a ceremony which is ſingular enough. In the evening a great feaſt is given, after which they go to ſleep. When all of them are awaked, thoſe who have had any dreams go from fire to fire, ſinging their death ſong, in which they take care to inſert their dream after a dark and enigmatical manner. Every one does his utmoſt to explain it; and, if nobody ſucceeds, the dreamer may return home if he pleaſes. After this, new invocations are made to the genii, and they animate themſelves to attempt the moſt dangerous enterprizes, ſwearing to each other mutual aſſiſtance. At laſt they begin their march again; and, if they have brought their canoes thus far, they now quit them, taking all the care imaginable to conceal them. Were all the injunctions preſcribed on theſe occaſions obſerved, it would ſcarce be poſſible to ſurprize a party of *Indians* whilſt in the enemies country. After this they muſt make no more fires, and refrain from ſhouting or hunting, and even from ſpeaking, except by ſigns. Theſe laws are however very ill obſerved, it being next to impoſſible for an *Indian* to bear the leaſt curb or reſtraint. They neglect not, however, ſending out ſcouts every night, who ſpend two or three hours in traverſing the country. If nothing is diſcovered, they ſleep in the greateſt ſecurity, leaving the guard of their camp to the manitous. Military ceremony and conduct.

Upon diſcovery of the enemy, they ſend ſome to reconnoitre them, on whoſe report they hold a council of war. The attack is generally made at day-break, the enemy being then ſuppoſed to be in the moſt profound ſleep; and all the night they continue with their faces flat upon the ground without the leaſt motion. They approach the enemy in the ſame poſture, creeping upon their feet and hands, till within arrow-ſhot. Then ſtarting up at once, the chief gives the ſignal by a faint hollow ſhout, to which the whole body anſwer by the moſt hideous howlings, making, at the ſame time, their firſt diſcharge: Afterwards, without leaving the enemies time to recover from their ſurpriſe, they fall upon them with their battle-axes. Theſe rencounters, ſince they have exchanged their wooden hatchets for thoſe of iron, have become much more bloody. The action once over, they ſcalp the dead and dying, and never think of taking any priſoners till the enemy has given over making reſiſtance. Method of fighting.

If they find the enemy on his guard, or too ſtrongly entrenched to be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs, they retire, if they can, without being diſcovered. If otherwiſe they take a reſolution to conquer or die, and in this caſe there is often much blood ſpilt on both ſides. A camp that has been forced is the very image of fury; the ſavage cruelty of the conquerors, and the wild deſpair of the conquered, who know what they have to expect, ſhould they fall alive into the hands of their enemies, cauſes both parties to make incredible efforts. The figure of the combatants, beſmeared over with black and red, augments the horror of the fray, which, ſays my author, would be a very lively copy, from which one might form a picture of the horrible condition of the damned in hell. The victory being once ſure, the victorious firſt diſpatch all thoſe that would, in their opinion, be cumberſome to them in their march, making ſlaves only of ſuch as they imagine capable of undergoing fatigue. Deſperate rage of combatants.

The *Indians* are naturally intrepid, and preſerve, in ſpite of their brutal fierceneſs, a great deal of cool blood, even in the heat of the combat. They are never willing, on any account whatever, if they can avoid it, to engage on open plains. Their reaſon is, that they hold a victory purchaſed with much blood of the conquerors unworthy of being called a victory, and that the glory of a chief conſiſts principally in bringing back unhurt all who follow him to the campaign. It has been ſaid, that when two enemies, who are at the ſame time acquaintances, meet in the heat of an action, they hold conferences with one another like the heroes in *Homer*; and that, on theſe occaſions, they challenge or perhaps admoniſh their antagoniſt. Military maxim.

Their art of war conſiſts almoſt wholly in ſurpriſes, or ſtratagem, in which they are generally ſucceſsful enough; for if the *Indians* are negligent in taking the neceſſary precautions againſt a ſurpriſe, they are no leſs vigilant and dexterous at ſurprizes in their turn. They have alſo a wonderful faculty of knowing whether an enemy has paſſed any particular way, diſcovering by the marks or prints of their foot ſteps, and the manner of their direction, whether on the graſs, mould, or ſand, and even upon rocks themſelves, which way the perſons who have travelled that way are gone; nay more they will tell you, from the ſize and figure of the foot *Their art of war.*

ſteps, by their diſtance from each other, by their manner of treading, whether they are men or women, or of what nations they are who have left thoſe traces. This is unanimouſly aſſerted by all who have lived amongſt the *Indians*, ſo that there ſeems little reaſon to doubt its being fact. If any of their priſoners, by reaſon of their wounds, is not in a condition to be tranſported, they burn them upon the ſpot; and as this is generally done in the firſt tranſports of their fury, and whilſt they are under the neceſſity of retiring with expedition, ſuch priſoners meet with milder tortures, than thoſe who are reſerved to be tormented at their leiſure.

Cruelty to priſoners.

Indian trophies.

Amongſt ſome nations the cuſtom is, for the chief of the victorious party to leave his hatchet on the field of battle, on which he takes care to delineate the mark of the nation, that of his family, and his own portrait, that is, an oval, within which are drawn all the figures with which his face is painted. Others again paint all thoſe marks on the trunk of ſome tree, or on a piece of bark, with charcoal pounded and ground with other colours. To theſe are added certain hieroglyphical characters, by means of which, paſſengers may learn the ſmalleſt circumſtance, not only of the action, but of every particular event of the campaign. The chief is diſtinguiſhed in this table by the above-mentioned marks; the number of his exploits, by ſo many matts; his ſoldiers, by ſo many lines; the priſoners, by an equal number of ſmall marmourets which bear a ſtaff, or chichicoué; of the dead, by an equal quantity of human figures without heads, beſides thoſe particularities which diſtinguiſh men, women, and children. Theſe inſcriptions are not, however, always near the ſpot where the action has been; for when a party are afraid of being purſued, they place theſe trophies out of their rout, on purpoſe to lead the purſuers out of the right way.

Treatment of captives.

The conquerors are very expeditious in their retreat out of the enemy's country; and, leſt they ſhould be retarded by the wounded, they either carry them by turns on a ſort of litter, or, if it is winter, they tranſport them on ſleds. When they re-imbark on board their canoes, they cauſe their priſoners to ſing, and this is practiſed every time they happen to meet any of their allies. This honour is purchaſed at the expence of a feaſt to be given by thoſe who receive it, and of ſomething worſe than the trouble of ſinging to the unhappy captives. On thoſe occaſions they invite their ally to careſs them as they call it, that is, to do them all the miſchief that comes into their head, or to beat them after ſuch a cruel rate, as ſometimes to maim them for ever. Some chiefs are, however, more humane to their priſoners, not ſuffering them to be quite ſo cruelly treated, but they are at the ſame time highly attentive to guard them. In the day-time, they are tied by the neck and arms to one of the benches of the canoe, and, if the march is by land, there is always one to keep hold of them. In the night they are ſtretched along the ground quite naked, their neck and arms tied down, by means of tenter hooks fixed in the earth, ſo that they cannot move; their hands and feet are moreover faſtened by means of long cords, in ſuch manner as to prevent their making the ſmalleſt movement, without awaking the *Indians* who ſleep on theſe cords.

Takings of the campaign.

When the warriours arrive within a certain diſtance of the village from whence they ſet out, they make a halt, and the chief ſends to give notice of his approach. Amongſt ſome nations the meſſenger, as ſoon as he is come within cry, makes different ſhouts, ſo as to give ſome notion of the ſucceſs and principal adventures of the campaign. Firſt, he ſignifies the number of their killed, by ſo many death-ſhouts. Upon this, the youth approach him to gain more certain information, and ſometimes the whole village pours out; but only one perſon accoſts the meſſenger, to learn from him the particulars he brings. As the former relates each ſingle adventure, the other turns himſelf and repeats it aloud to the company, who anſwer him by ſo many acclamations, or cries of lamentations, as the news he relates happens to be joyful, or otherwiſe.

Lamentations [illegible].

The envoy is then conducted into a hut, where the elders put the ſame queſtions as had been already aſked. After this a public crier invites the whole body of the youth to go forth to meet the warriours, and the women to carry them refreſhments. At firſt they are entirely taken up with lamenting the ſlain, the envoy continually repeating the death-cry. No perſons is ſuffered to approach him; but when he enters the village, he finds the people aſſembled, he relates to them in brief, all that has happened, and then retires to his hutt, where they bring him ſomething to eat, and for ſome time all are employed in bewailing the deceaſed.

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The time allotted for wailing being expired, they make another cry to denote the victory. Then every body dries his tears and nothing is to be ſeen but univerſal joy. Something like this is practiſed at the return of the hunters: The women, as ſoon as they have been advertiſed of their approach, go out to meet them; and, before they inform themſelves of the ſucceſs of the hunting, ſignify, by their tears, what perſons have died in the village ſince their departure. To return to the warriors, from the moment the women have joined them, the puniſhment and ſufferings of the priſoners commence. When any of the captives are to be adopted, which, however, is not cuſtomary among all the *Indian* nations, thoſe who are to become their parents go, after notice given them, to a farther diſtance to receive them, but take care to conduct them to their cabbins by ſome round-about way. The captives are generally long ignorant of their future fate, and few eſcape the firſt tranſports of the fury of the women, to which all thoſe who are doomed to die are entirely given up. The courage with which they receive this ſtorm of barbarous rage and cruelty is quite aſtoniſhing. Above all, ſhould any one of theſe furies happen to have loſt a ſon, a huſband, or any other perſon who was dear to her, were it even thirty years ago, ſhe diſcharges her vengeance on the firſt ſhe meets; and it is quite inconceivable to what height ſhe will carry her rage. No regard, either to modeſty or humanity, has the leaſt reſtraint on her, and, at every blow ſhe fetches, you would certainly conclude the victim muſt fall dead at her feet; and it is to the laſt degree wonderful, with what ingenuity they prolong the moſt ſhocking torments. The whole night is paſt in the camp of warriors in this manner.

Cruelty of the women to the priſoners.

The next day is appointed for the triumph of the conquerors; the *Iroquois* and ſome other *Indian* nations affect great modeſty, and ſtill greater diſintereſtedneſs on thoſe occaſions. The chiefs firſt make their entry into the village alone, without any other marks of victory, obſerving a profound ſilence, and retire to their cabbins, without ſignifying that they have the leaſt right or pretenſion to any of the priſoners. Amongſt other nations the cuſtom is entirely different; the chief marches at the head of his corps, with the air and port of a conqueror; next follows his lieutenant, preceded by a crier, whoſe office is to renew the death-cries. The warriors follow two and two, the priſoners in the middle crowned with flowers, their hair and viſage painted, holding a ſtaff in one hand, and a chichicoué in the other, their body almoſt naked, their arms tied with a rope above the elbow, of which the warriors hold the ends; ſinging inceſſantly their death-ſong to the ſound of the chichicoué.

Triumph of the conqueror

This muſic has ſomething mournful and diſdainful at the ſame time, the captives diſcovering nothing that has the leaſt air of a priſoner, or of a perſon under affliction. The following is nearly the purport of their ſongs. "I who am brave and undaunted, fear neither death nor the cruelſt torments. Let cowards who are leſs than women dread them; the brave hold life in no ſort of eſteem, in compariſon of honour. May fury and deſpair choak my enemies! Why cannot I devour them, and quaff the laſt drop of their blood."

Song of triumph

The priſoners are made to halt from time to time, when the *Indians* croud round them, dancing, and cauſing the captives to dance with them: Theſe ſeem to do it with great chearfulneſs, relating, at the ſame time, their moſt remarkable exploits, and mentioning, by their names, all thoſe who have been killed or burnt by their hands. But, eſpecially, they take care to remark thoſe who have been moſt dear to the aſſiſtants, and one would conclude they were ſolely intent on provoking the fury of the tormentors. Theſe bravados have conſtantly the effect that ought naturally to be expected from them, exciting the utmoſt tranſports of rage in all who hear them, ſo that their vanity coſts them extremely dear, though, by the manner in which they receive theſe tortures, you would imagine, that, to put them to the moſt exquiſite pain, were doing them the moſt ſenſible pleaſure.

Bravery of the priſoners.

Sometimes they oblige them to run between two rows of *Indians*, who are armed with ſtones and cudgels, and lay upon them as if they would diſpatch them at the firſt blow. They, however, are never known to fall under this operation, thoſe ſavages, even in their greateſt rage, taking care never to ſtrike on any part where the blow might prove mortal. In this courſe, or march, any one has a right to ſtop the ſufferer, who is alſo permitted to act in his own defence, though generally to no purpoſe. On the arrival of the captives in the village, they are conducted from cabbin to cabbin, and every where made to pay for their reception in the ſame

The [illegible] treated

humane manner. In one they pluck off a nail; in a ſecond they take off a finger, either with their teeth, or with a knife that reſembles a ſaw, rather than an edge tool. An old man then tears off their fleſh till the very bones are ſeen; a child pierces them with an awl where he can; a woman ſcourges them with the moſt inſenſible brutality, till her arms are weary with whipping. But all this while there is no warrior, not even their maſters, who lays a hand upon them. They are not, however, permitted to maim them, without the permiſſion of thoſe whoſe property they are, which is rarely granted. Excepting this, they have a right to inflict what puniſhments and cruelties they think fit, and, if they are led through ſeveral villages, whether of their allies, friends, or of their own nation, and at their deſire, their reception is every where the ſame.

Their diſtribution.

They next ſet about dividing the captives, whoſe fate depends on the will and pleaſure of thoſe to whom they are diſtributed. As ſoon as the council, in which their fate is decided, breaks up, an herald, or crier, invites all the people to aſſemble in the ſquare, where the diſtrubution is always made without the leaſt clamour or diſpute whatſoever. Thoſe women who have loſt their children, or huſbands, in the war, are commonly the firſt provided. Afterwards they take care to diſcharge their promiſes to thoſe who have given them collars; if there are not a ſufficient number of captives for this purpoſe, the deficiency is made good by ſcalps, which are worn for ornament on feſtivals and rejoycing days, and afterwards hung up at the doors of their cabbins. If, on the contrary, the number of priſoners exceed that of thoſe who have any pretenſions, the ſurplus is ſent to their allies. A chief is made good only by a chief, or by two or three ſlaves, who are always burnt, even tho' the chief had died of ſickneſs. The *Iroquois* never fail to ſet apart a number of their priſoners for the public uſe, in which caſe the council diſpoſes of them as they ſee fit; tho' the mothers may yet annul their ſentence, as being abſolute ſovereigns of the life and death of thoſe who have been condemned or abſolved by the council.

Their fate by death, ſlaves or adoption.

Amongſt ſome nations the warriors never part with the right of diſpoſing of their priſoners, and thoſe in whoſe favour the council has diſtributed them are obliged to deliver them back into their hands, if ſo required. But this is ſeldom done, and, when it happens, the warriours are obliged to give up the pledges of thoſe to whom the priſoners had been given. If a warrior, on his arrival, declares his intention in this point, it is generally not oppoſed. The greateſt part of the priſoners of war are uſually condemned to die, or to a ſtate of ſlavery, which is extremely rigorous, their lives depending on the pleaſure of their maſters. Sometimes they are adopted, in which caſe their ſituation differs nothing from that of children of the nation, of which they are become members, they enter into the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of thoſe whoſe places they ſupply, and oftentimes they become ſo very zealous on the behalf of the nation that has adopted them, as to go to war againſt their own country. The *Iroquois* have hitherto been ſupported ſolely by this piece of policy; for as they have been in war, for time immemorial, againſt all the circumjacent *Indian* nations, they muſt have been long ſince reduced to nothing, had they not taken care to naturalize a conſiderable number of their priſoners of war.

It ſometimes happens that inſtead of ſending the ſurplus of their priſoners to their allies, they beſtow them upon private perſons who made no demands of that ſort, in which caſe, they are either obliged to aſk the opinion of the chiefs of the council what they are to do with them, or otherwiſe they are under the neceſſity of adopting them. In the firſt caſe, he to whom a ſlave has been preſented ſends ſome perſon of his own family to bring him home; he then ties him to the door of his cabbin; this done, he aſſembles the chiefs of the council, informs them of his own intentions, and aſks their opinion, which is commonly agreeable to his wiſhes. In the ſecond circumſtance, the council, after placing the priſoner in the hands of him for whom they intend him, addreſs him in the following manner. "It is now a long time ſince we have been deprived of ſuch a one, your relation, or friend, who was the ſupport of our village:" Or, "We regret the ſpirit of ſuch an one whom you have loſt, and who, by his great wiſdom, maintained the public repoſe and tranquility; he muſt this day be made to appear again; he was too dear to us, and too valuable, to defer any longer the bringing him again to life; we therefore replace him upon his matt in the perſon of this captive."

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Some private perſons, on account of their ſuperior credit and eſtimation, have a priſoner given them, without any reſtriction or reſerve, and with full power to diſpoſe of him at their pleaſure. In this caſe the council in delivering him into their hands, exhorts them in theſe words: "Behold wherewithal to repair the loſs of ſuch an one, and to glad the heart of thy father, of thy mother, of thy wife, and of thy children, whether thou ſhalt chooſe to cauſe them to drink of the broth of this fleſh, or that thou loveſt rather to replace the departed upon his matt in the perſon of this captive. Thou mayeſt diſpoſe of him as ſeemeth right in thine own eyes." Form of words in beſtowing priſoners.

When a priſoner has been adopted, they conduct him to the cabbin where he is to remain, and begin by looſing his bands. Next they ſet on water to warm, in order to waſh him; then they probe his wounds, if he has any, and he is ſoon cured were they even full of worms. Nothing is forgotten to make him loſe the memory of what he has undergone; they then ſet meat before him, and, laſtly, they cloath him in good and decent apparel. In ſhort, they do all that could be done for a child of the nation, or even for the very perſon he brings to life again, as they expreſs themſelves. Some days after a feaſt is made, in which the name of the perſon he repreſents is given him with abundance of ſolemnity; and he then not only enters into full poſſeſſion of all his rights and privileges, but alſo enters into all his contracts or obligations. Benefits of adoption

Amongſt the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*, thoſe who have been deſtined to the flames are ſometimes treated at firſt, and even till the moment of their execution, with as much lenity and indulgence as thoſe who have been adopted. Theſe are probably victims which they fatten for ſacrifice, being actually offered to the god of war. The ſole difference between theſe and the other captives is, that they ſmear their faces with black. Except this, they give them the beſt food, ſpeak to them with an air of humanity, and even friendſhip, giving them the title of ſon, brother, or nephew, according to their relation to the perſon whoſe manes is to be appeaſed by the ſacrifice; and ſometimes they give them their pleaſure of the women, who are in the nature of wives to them during the time they have yet to live. To prevent their endeavouring to eſcape, they conceal as much as poſſible the fate they are to undergo. Captives deſtined for ſacrifices.

The moment every thing is ready for the execution, they are delivered up to a woman, who, from a mother degenerates into a very fury, paſſing, from the tendereſt and moſt endearing careſſes, to the laſt tranſports of rage and madneſs. She begins by calling upon the ſhade of him whom ſhe is about to avenge, in terms ſuch as theſe: "Approach, whilſt I am about to appeaſe thee, and whilſt I prepare thee a repaſt: Drink large draughts of this broth which is ready to be poured out before thee: Receive the victim which I prepare for thee in the perſon of this warrior: Him will I burn, and put into the chaldron: Burning hatchets will ſoon be applied to his fleſh: They are ready to flea off his hair: They will drink out of his ſkull: Leave, therefore, thy complaining: Thou ſhalt have thy vengeance fully ſatisfied." This formula, which is properly the ſentence of death, varies conſiderably in the expreſſion, but is always the ſame in ſubſtance. A crier then cauſes the captive to come from the cabbin, proclaiming aloud the intentions of him or her to whom he belongs, and cloſes the proclamation by exhorting the youth to do their parts well. Next advances a ſecond herald, who addreſſes himſelf to the ſufferer in theſe terms. "Take courage, brother, thou art going to be burnt." He again anſwers coolly; "It is well, I thank thee." Then the whole village ſet up a ſhout, and the priſoner is conducted to the place of execution. Sentence by a woman, and preliminaries to execution

The captive is commonly tied to a poſt by the hands and feet, but ſo as to ſuffer him to turn quite round it. Sometimes, however, when the execution is to be in ſome cabbin, whence their is no danger of his eſcaping, they omit tying him, and leave him to run from one end of the hut to the other. Before they begin to burn him, he ſings his death-ſong for the laſt time; next he makes the recital of his valiant feats, and almoſt always in the manner that is moſt inſulting to the by-ſtanders. He then beſeeches them not to ſpare him in the leaſt, but to remember he is a man, and a warriour. Thus he goes on ſinging chearfully in the midſt of torments, inſulting and defying his executioners to the laſt groan. Reſolution of the ſufferer

The tormentors are generally as many as there are ſpectators or inhabitants in the village, men, women, and children, who ſeem to vye with each other who ſhall exceed in all manner of cruelty. The inhabitants of the hut, in which the priſoner has

has been kept, are the only perſons who have no hand in theſe acts of brutality; at leaſt this is the practice amongſt ſome nations. They generally begin with burning the feet, then the limbs, aſcending by degrees to the head; and ſometimes they protract thoſe ſufferings for a whole week, as it happened to a *Canadian* gentleman who had fallen into the hands of the *Iroquois*. Thoſe who are the leaſt ſpared, are ſuch who, after having been adopted, or ſet at liberty, have made their eſcape, and have been taken a ſecond time: Theſe are looked upon as unnatural children, and as ungrateful perſons, who have made war upon their relations and benefactors, and to ſuch no ſort of favour is ſhewn. Sometimes the ſufferer is left looſe, even when the execution is not in a cabbin, and he is alſo allowed to ſtand upon his own defence, which he does not ſo much from any hope or proſpect of ſaving his life, as to avenge his death before hand, and to have the glory of dying like a man of courage. There have been many inſtances to prove what a prodigious degree of ſtrength and fortitude ſuch a reſolution is capable of inſpiring, of which the following, atteſted by perſons worthy of credit, who were eye witneſſes, is one very remarkable:

Burnt in the moſt torturing manner.

An *Iroquois* captain of the canton called *Onneyouth*, choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the worſt that could happen, than to diſhonour himſelf by flying, which he looked upon as ſtill the more unworthy of a hero from the ill example he muſt thereby give the youth under his command. He fought a long time like one reſolved to die with his arms in his hands, but the *Hurons* his enemies, were reſolved on taking him, if poſſible, alive. He was conducted together with thoſe who were taken priſoners, at the ſame time, into a canton where they were converted and baptized by ſome *French* miſſionaries, and all burnt a few days after, giving marks of an aſtoniſhing conſtancy. The *Iroquois* commander believed he might lawfully do his enemies all the miſchief in his power, and retard the hour of his death as much as poſſible. They had cauſed him to aſcend a ſtage or theatre, where they began by burning his body in every member without the leaſt mercy, himſelf appearing as much inſenſible as if he were not in the leaſt ſuffering. But on perceiving one of his companions, who was tortured juſt by him, diſcover ſome ſign of weakneſs, he teſtified much uneaſineſs at it, omitted nothing that might encourage him to bear up under his calamities, from the hopes of a happy immortality in heaven, and ſhewed vaſt ſatisfaction to ſee him die at laſt not only like a brave man but a Chriſtian.

His patience, aſtoniſhing vivacity and reſiſtance, and hopeful end.

Thoſe who had thus put his companion to death fell upon him with ſuch rage, as if they would tear him to pieces. He appeared not at all moved at it, and they were now at a loſs to find any part of his body that was ſenſible to pain, when one of his executioners, after making an inciſion in the ſkin quite round the head, tore it entirely off, by mere force and violence. The pain made him fall into a ſwoon, when the tormentors, believing him dead, left him. A moment after he recovered from his ſwoon, and ſeeing nothing near him, but the corps of his friend, he took up a fire-brand with both hands, ſcorched and fleaſ as they were, defying his executioners to come nigh him. This uncommon reſolution ſtruck terror into them, they made hideous ſhouts, ran to arms, ſome having hold of burning coals, and others ſeizing red-hot irons, and all at once poured upon him. He ſtood the brunt of their fury with the courage of deſpair, and even made them retire. The fire that ſurrounded him ſerved him for an intrenchment, which he compleated with ladders they had uſed to aſcend the ſcaffold, and thus fortifying himſelf, and making a ſort of citadel of his funeral pile, which was now become the theatre of his bravery, and armed with the inſtruments of his torture, he was for a conſiderable time the terror of a whole canton, and not one had the heart to approach him tho' he was more than half-burnt to death, and the blood trickled from all parts of his body. A ſlip of the foot in ſhunning a fire-brand darted at him, delivered him once more into the hands of his enemies, who, as you may well imagine, made him pay extremely dear for the fears he had occaſioned them. After wearying themſelves with tormenting him, they threw him into the middle of a great coal-fire, in full confidence that he would never riſe from it. But they were deceived; for, when they leaſt thought of it, they beheld him again, armed with a fire-brand running towards the village, as if he were going to ſet it on fire. All hearts were frozen with fear, and no perſon dared to face him; when, juſt as he had almoſt reached the firſt cabbins, a ſtick thrown at him, and falling between his legs, brought him to the ground, and they laid hold of him before he could recover himſelf. Here, firſt they

they cut off his hands and feet and rolled him upon burning embers, and then threw him below the burning trunk of a tree, the whole village gathering round him to enjoy the ſpectacle. He loſt ſuch a quantity of blood as almoſt to extinguiſh the fire; ſo that they had now no manner of apprehenſion remaining of any future attempt. He made, however, another, which ſtruck terror into the moſt undaunted. He crept on his knees and elbows with ſo much vigour, and with ſuch a threatning countenance, as aſtoniſhed, if not affrighted them. In this ſtate, the miſſionaries approaching him, in order to diſpoſe him to bethink himſelf of the ſtate of his ſoul, at that dreadful moment which was at hand, he ſeemed to liſten with attention, and to have his thoughts occupied ſolely with ſuch meditations, when one of his executioners, taking his opportunity, ſtruck off his head.

Tales of the *Indians* for negociations.

If thoſe nations make war like barbarians, we muſt, however, allow that in treaties of peace, and generally in all their negociations, they diſcover ſuch a dexterity, addreſs, and elevation of ſoul, as might do honour to the beſt policed nations. They never think of making conqueſts, or of extending their power and dominion. Some of thoſe nations know no manner of dominion or ſovereignty; and thoſe who have never left their native country, and who look upon themſelves as the lords and ſovereigns of the ſoil, are not ſo jealous of their property as to hinder new comers from ſettling on it, provided they attempt not to moleſt them. The points which are the only ſubjects of their treaties, are, to make alliances againſt powerful enemies; to put an end to a war which may have become burthenſome to both parties; or, rather, to treat of a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, for every war or diſſention is everlaſting amongſt the *Indians*, when they fall out between different nations. Thus there is little ſtreſs laid on a treaty of peace, whilſt any of the parties are capable of moleſting or giving uneaſineſs to the other.

Artful management and danger of negociations.

During the whole time of the negociation, and even before it commences, their chief care is, that they may not ſeem to make the firſt advances, or, if they do, they uſe all their addreſs to make their enemy believe that the overtures proceed not from fear or neceſſity; and this laſt is managed very artfully. A plenipotentiary keeps up an air of haughtineſs, even when the affairs of his nation are in the worſt ſituation; and he is generally fortunate enough to perſuade thoſe with whom he is treating, that it is their intereſt to put an end to hoſtilities, however ſucceſsful they may have been. On this account, he avails himſelf of every thing that may contribute to his ſucceſs, employing all the eloquence and addreſs imaginable. For ſhould his propoſals happen not to be reliſhed, he is obliged to keep well on his guard, a blow of the hatchet being often the ſole reply made on ſuch occaſions; and it is not even enough to have eſcaped the firſt ſurpriſe, he has alſo grounds to fear being purſued, and burnt if taken, if any pretext can be found, as, for inſtance, that of repriſals, for ſuch proceeding. Thus it happened to ſome *French* amongſt the *Irequois*, to whom they had been ſent on the part of the governor general; and the Jeſuits who reſided amongſt thoſe *Indians*, and were a ſort of agents for the colony, were always expecting to be ſacrificed to ſome ancient grudge, or miſunderſtanding, or to the remonſtrances of the governor of *New York*.

Reſidents maintained amongſt them.

It is ſurpriſing, in ſhort, that nations who never make war from motives of intereſt, and who even carry their diſintereſtedneſs to ſuch a height, that their warriors never load themſelves with the plunder and ſpoil of the conquered, and, if they bring home any booty, abandon it to the firſt that pleaſes to take it, and, laſtly, who take up arms for glory, or to revenge themſelves on their enemies; it is, I ſay, quite aſtoniſhing to ſee them ſo well verſed and practiſed in the greateſt refinements and intricacies of ſtate policy, and even ſo as to keep miniſters, reſiding amongſt their enemies, at the public expence. They have one cuſtom with reſpect to theſe agents, which appears ſufficiently extravagant, though it may be reckoned prudent enough, at the ſame time, which is, that they never lay any ſtreſs on any intelligence they receive from thoſe penſioners, if the advice be not accompanied with ſome preſent. Their policy here ariſes, no doubt, from this conſideration, that, in order to give an entire credit to any piece of intelligence, it is not only neceſſary that he who communicates it have nothing to hope from it, but even that it ſhould be attended with ſome expence to him, both becauſe the public, and not any private intereſt, ought to be his only motive for ſending it, and alſo that he may

Odd cuſtom with regard to them

not raſhly, or before he has well weighed the importance, trouble them with trifling and ſuperficial matters.

Government of the *Indians* of *Canada*.

The nations on the continent of *North America* have, for the moſt part, a kind of ariſtocratical form of government, the modes of which are almoſt infinite. For tho' each canton has its own chief, independant of all the other cantons of the nation, on whom the ſubjects have full as little dependance, there is, however, no matter of importance tranſacted without the advice of their elders. Amongſt thoſe nations that live towards *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, their ſagamos were more abſolute, and it does not appear that they were obliged to make largeſſes to their people as the chiefs are accuſtomed to do almoſt every where elſe. On the contrary, they levied a kind of tribute on their ſubjects, and their grandeur did by no means conſiſt in their diſintereſtedneſs, and in keeping nothing for themſelves; but it is probable that the diſperſion of the *Acadian Indians*, and it may be their commerce with the *French*, may have contributed much to the change of their ancient form of government in this particular, the detail of which may be found in *Champlain* and *Leſcarbot*.

Clans, titles, and diſtinguiſhing marks.

Amongſt ſeveral nations there are three tribes, or clans, which are reckoned chief or ſuperior to the reſt, and which are probably as old as the nation itſelf. They have, however, one common ſtock; but there is one of theſe three branches which is held the firſt in rank, and has a pre-eminence over the other two; and thoſe of this tribe, or family, have the quality or honorary title of brethren given them, whereas they give others only that of couſins. Theſe tribes are mixed without however being confounded, each having its particular chief in the village, and, in affairs which concern the whole nation, theſe chiefs aſſemble, and are the council which deliberates upon them.

Nations and tribes take the names of animals.

Each tribe bears the name of ſome animal, and the nation in general has one of its own which diſtinguiſhes it from others, the figure of which is its mark, or, what is the ſame thing, its enſigns armorial. When they ſign any treaty, the figure of this animal is always drawn on it, except, in ſome particular caſes, when they make uſe of different ſignatures. Thus the *Huron* nation is the nation of the Porcupine: Its firſt tribe bears the name of the Bear, or the Roebuck, for authors are not agreed on this point; the two next in rank have taken for their animals, the Wolf and the Tortoiſe; in ſhort, every canton has its peculiar animal, and it is this variety which has probably miſled the writers of ſeveral erroneous relations. It is alſo proper to take notice that, beſides theſe diſtinctions of nations, tribes, and cantons, by different animals, there are alſo other differences which ariſe from certain events, or from ſome particular cuſtoms. The *Hurons* called *Tionnontatez*, for inſtance, who are of the firſt tribe, are commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the nation of Petun; and there is yet in being a treaty of thoſe *Indians* with the *French*, to which they have affixed as their mark the figure of a Beaver. The *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, have the ſame animals with the *Huron Indians*, a colony of whom they have been reckoned by ſome *French* writers, with this difference, however, that amongſt the former the family of the Tortoiſe is divided into the Great and the Little Tortoiſe.

Titles of chiefs of families and villages.

The chief of each family or clan bears its name, and is known by no other title in all public tranſactions; the caſe is preciſely the ſame with the chiefs of villages. But beſides this title, which is only, as we may ſay, a ſort of repreſentative one, they have another which diſtinguiſhes them more particularly, and is in the nature of a mark of honour. Thus one is called *Moſt Noble*, another *Moſt Ancient*, and ſo of the reſt. Laſtly, they they have a third title, which is perſonal; but this is probably in uſe amongſt thoſe nations only where the quality of chief is hereditary.

Titles conferred and revoked.

Theſe titles are conferred with a great deal of ceremony: The new chief, or, if he ſhould not be of age, his repreſentative, is to give a repaſt, to beſtow largeſſes, to make the elogium, or panegyric, of his predeceſſor, and to ſing his ſong. There are, however, inſtances where a certain name is had in ſuch veneration, that no perſon afterwards dares to take it, or at leaſt, not before it is in a manner antiquated, in which caſe they call it, reſtoring the perſon who formerly bore it to life.

Dignity of chief elective.

In the Northern parts, and in general wherever the *Algonkin* language prevails, the dignity of the chief is elective: But then the whole ceremony of election and inſtallation conſiſts in feaſting, accompanied with dances and ſongs. The chief elect never omits to make the panegyric of his predeceſſor, and to invoke his genius.

Amongſt

Amongſt the *Hurons*, where this dignity is hereditary, the ſucceſſion is thro' the females; hence, on the death of a chief, it is not his own ſon, but the ſon of his ſiſter who ſucceeds to the chief-ſhip; or, in default of ſuch iſſue, the neareſt of the female line. If the whole branch, or line, ſhould happen to be extinct, the nobleſt matron of the tribe or nation makes choice of the ſubject who is moſt to her liking, and declares him chief. Dignity hereditary deſcends by females.

In caſe of a minority, the hereditary chief has a regent appointed for him, who exerciſes all his authority, but always in the name of the minor. Theſe chiefs are diſtinguiſhed by very little external marks of reſpect, and if they are generally obeyed, it is becauſe they know how to confine their commands within the limits of their power. Thus they rather ſignify their deſire, or ſimply propoſe what they would have done, and as their authority is very limited, and their power is but of ſmall influence, they are very careful not to ſtretch them beyond the bounds of moderation. Thus the reaſonableneſs of the ſervice, and not the will or influence of the chief enforces obedience; and this is always more chearfully performed by the ſubjects, as their actions are free and properly ſpeaking their own, and as they can have no apprehenſions of the degeneracy of their conſtitution into tyranny and arbitrary government. State of a regent in a minority.

Each family, tribe, or clan, (which are names for the ſame thing) has moreover a right to chooſe a councellor, and an aſſiſtant to the chief, who is to watch over their particular intereſts, and without whoſe advice the chief can undertake or execute nothing. Theſe councellors are eſpecially to have an eye over the public treaſury, and it is theirs particularly to aſſign the uſes to which it is to be applied. The formality of their reception is preſcribed in the general council, but the *Indians* never acquaint their allies with their admiſſions, as it is uſual with them in notifying the election and inſtallment of their chiefs. Amongſt the *Hurons* the women name thoſe councellors, and they often chooſe perſons of their own ſex for theſe employments. Councellors aſſiſtant to chiefs.

This body, or college of chiefs, is the firſt in power above all the others: The ſecond is of the elders or ſenators, conſiſting of ſuch as have attained the age of manhood, the preciſe year of which is uncertain: The third and laſt is that of the warriors, which comprehends all capable of bearing arms. This body have often the chief of the nation, or canton for their head; but before he is capable of enjoying this honour, he muſt have diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome remarkable feat of arms; otherwiſe he is obliged to ſerve in quality of a ſubaltern, that is, as a ſimple centinel; for there is no diſtinction of rank or quality in the *Indian* militia. Colleges of chiefs, elders, and warriors.

In effect a large body may have ſeveral chiefs, this title being common to all who have once commanded; but theſe chiefs are entirely ſubject to the orders of the commander in chief of the party, who is a ſort of general without rank or authority, being neither capable of rewarding or puniſhing, for even his ſoldiers may quit the ſervice at their pleaſure with impunity; and yet this ſhadow of a general is almoſt never diſobeyed: So true it is, that amongſt men who are governed by reaſon, and conducted by a principle of honour, and the love of their country, independency and ſubordination are perfectly conſiſtent, and that a free and voluntary obedience is the beſt ſupport and ſecurity to a general. The other qualities requiſite to accompliſh a war-chief, are, that he be brave, diſintereſted, and fortunate; and it is no wonder that a general endowed with all theſe qualities ſhould be well obeyed. Beſt ſource of obedience to a general.

Amongſt all the nations of the *Huron* tongue, if you except the *Iroquois* canton of *Onneyouth*, amongſt whom the power reſides alternately in either ſex, the women have the chief authority. But tho' this may poſſibly be their original conſtitution, it is found, however, to be very ſeldom true in practice: For the males, contrary to the original contract, and to the *Magna Charta* of free-born *Indians*, never acquaint the other ſex, who are the barons of the *Hurons*, with any but trifling affairs, tho' all is carried on and executed in their name, and by the chiefs, who are no more than their lieutenants. Thus the actual authority of the *Huron* fair is little more than a ſhadow. It is, however, affirmed by ſome, that the women are the firſt who ſit upon whatever is propoſed in council, and that they ſend down their reſolves to the chiefs, who make the report to the council general, that is, the council of elders or ſenators; tho' all this probably ſerves only for form ſake, and with the reſtrictions juſt mentioned. The warriors alſo hold conſultations among themſelves on affairs of their own province; but nothing of importance, or which concerns the nation or canton, can Chief authority reſides in women.

be reſolved in this council. All is ſubject to be reviſed and confirmed in the court of ſeniors, whoſe determinations are deciſive.

Wiſdom, privacy, and policy conſpicuous in public aſſemblies.

Some writers make no ſcruple to aſſure us, that in thoſe aſſemblies every thing is managed with ſo much wiſdom, mature deliberation, dexterity, and, in general, with ſo much probity, as would have done honour to the *Roman* ſenate, or to the Areopagus of *Athens*, in the happieſt and beſt times of thoſe republics. Here nothing is done precipitately, and thoſe violent and tyrannical paſſions of private ambition and intereſt, which have ſo much changed, or rather diſfigured the face of government, and public buſineſs amongſt thoſe who call themſelves polite nations, have not, as yet, prevailed, amongſt thoſe whom we very unjuſtly call ſavages, over the good of the common wealth. Thoſe who are concerned in the event of thoſe deliberations never fail to ſet abundance of ſprings in motion, and employ ſo much addreſs and ſuch a fine and ſubtle kind of politics to accompliſh their deſigns, as are perfectly aſtoniſhing in men of ſo ſimple and an almoſt barbarous appearance. They are particularly great maſters in the art of diſſimulation, and no people exceed them in an artfulneſs, which is peculiar to them, of covering their deſigns; and, what flows from the ſame fountain of natural ſagacity, when they take the field, in concealing their march from the enemy none are to compare with them. The point of honour, and the glory of the nation, are the chief motives of going to war, joined to, what is much leſs excuſable, an inſatiable and moſt ungovernable thirſt of revenge, for in this they believe their honour is concerned in a peculiar manner. They may think perhaps too, that good policy and ſelf preſervation require that they ſhould not teach their enemies to inſult or injure them, by ſuffering them to do it with impunity.

Motives to war.

Public orators

Each tribe has its orator in the village or canton, who only has a right to ſpeak in the public councils, and in their general aſſemblies. Theſe orators are obſerved to ſpeak always well, and to the point in debate: And, beſides this natural eloquence, which no perſons, who have frequented their meetings, has ever denied them, they have a thorough knowledge of the intereſts of their conſtituents, with an inexpreſſible and ſingular talent at ſetting them in their beſt light. The women have alſo an orator on ſome occaſions, who ſpeaks in their name, and as if he was only the interpreter of their ſentiments.

Buſy temper of the *Indians*

One would naturally imagine that nations who may be conſidered as in ſome ſort without property, whether public or private, and who have no ambition to extend their territory, would have few differences to unravel with one another. But the reſtleſs nature of the human mind, which is incapable of ſubſiſting without action, is ingenious in finding out matter of employment. Thus thoſe ſavages are eternally buſied in treating, and are never without a multitude of affairs on the carpet, ſuch as concluding new or renewing old treaties, tenders of ſervice, mutual congratulations, new alliances, invitations to become parties in a war, compliments on the death of ſome chief, or great perſonage, and other matters of the ſame nature; all this buſineſs is tranſacted with an attention and capacity, not only in every reſpect capable of managing the moſt important affairs, but alſo oftentimes much greater than it appears to be; thoſe who are deputed for this purpoſe being frequently charged with ſecret inſtructions, the apparent motive of their commiſſions being only a veil to cover their real and more ſerious deſigns.

Valour and policy of the *Iroquois*

The *Iroquois* nation, commonly called the *Five Nations*, has made the greateſt figure for two centuries in this part of *North America*. Their ſucceſs in war has given them an inconteſted ſuperiority over all the others, ſo that from quiet and pacific as they formerly were, they are now become to the laſt degree turbulent and intriguing. But nothing has more contributed to render them formidable than their advantageous ſituation, of which they were not long inſenſible, and which they have turned to their beſt advantage. As they are ſituated within the colonies of *Great Britain*, near thoſe of *France*, they were ſoon conſcious of their being neceſſary to both nations, and both, in effect, have uſed their utmoſt efforts to engage them either to come over to their own ſide, or at leaſt to remain neuter. Perſuaded as they were, that ſhould either of theſe nations happen to ſuppreſs the other, themſelves muſt become the ſlaves of the conquerors, they turned all their thoughts to preſerve the balance between both, in which we muſt confeſs they have ſucceeded to a miracle, if we

we conſider that all their forces conjoined have never exceeded five or ſix thouſand combattants, and that they have long ſince been diminiſhed above one half.

Government of villages.

As to what concerns private perſons and the inferior government of villages, their affairs are reduced to very few, and thoſe tranſacted in very little time. The authority of the chiefs ſeldom or never intermeddles with them, ſo that, generally ſpeaking, perſons, who have any degree of credit, are entirely taken up with the management of public affairs. One ſingle point, tho' of ſmall importance, is long under deliberation: All is concluded with wonderful coolneſs, and nothing is decided till it is fully underſtood by all who are pleaſed to aſſiſt in it. On making an elder a private gratification, you are always ſure of his vote, if he accepts the preſent, tho' they are not eaſily brought to receive ſuch favours, and there is ſcarce any inſtance of an *Indian* who has failed to perform his obligations in this reſpect; nor are they ever known to receive with both hands.

Youth early polished.

The youth become early acquainted with public affairs, whence they become grave and ripe, at an age in which *European* nations are ſtill children, as having ſeldom an opportunity of being ſo much as ſpectators of any thing that relates to public buſineſs. This admiſſion gives them a ſtrong love for the public good, even from their earlieſt youth, and inſpires an emulation which they are very careful to foment, and from which every thing may be hoped.

Want of criminal juſtice.

The greateſt defect of this government is an almoſt total want of criminal juſtice in this country; this defect, however, is far from being attended with the ſame conſequences it muſt certainly be amongſt *Europeans*, as private intereſt, the great ſpring of our paſſions, and the chief ſource of all thoſe diſorders which are ſo pernicious to ſociety, has no power over men who never think of growing rich, nor take any care for to morrow.

Indulgent education.

We might alſo find fault with their manner of educating their children, for their extreme indulgence will not ſuffer them to be chaſtiſed on any account. Whilſt they are children, their excuſe is, that they have not the uſe of reaſon, and the *Indians* are of opinion that the underſtanding is never improved by puniſhment. When they are grown up, their anſwer is, that they are maſters of their own actions, and therefore reſponſible to none. They even carry theſe two maxims to ſuch an extravagant length, as to ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by perſons who are intoxicated with liquor, and without ſo much as defending themſelves for fear of hurting them. "For why, ſay they, ſhould one hurt perſons who know not what they do."

Liberty of *American* ſource of diſorders.

In ſhort, thoſe *Americans* are perfectly of opinion, that man is born free, that no power on earth has any right to infringe his liberty, and that nothing is capable of compenſating the loſs of it. Their deſires are more bounded than ours, becauſe their ſprings are ſo too, and as they covet only the neceſſaries of life, with which nature has abundantly provided them, they ſcarce ſo much as think of its ſuperfluities. This toleration and impunity is, however, the occaſion of great diſorders, and is itſelf no ſmall one. They have almoſt no ſubordination in public, ſtill leſs in private life, every one living as he liſts, father, mother, and children, cohabiting like ſo many perſons who had come together by accident, and as if they were linked by no ties of nature, the children ordering the affairs of the family, without ſo much as conſulting their parents any more than if they were utter ſtrangers, brought up in a total independance from their infancy, and unaccuſtomed both to the voice of nature, and to the moſt indiſpenſable obligation of human life, and of civil ſociety.

Horrid crimes excuſed, or extenuated.

The moſt horrid crimes, even parricide itſelf, are ſuffered to go unpuniſhed, ſo that when they happen, they are leſs, in ſome meaſure, to be aſcribed to the perſon who commits them, than to the public which ſuffers them. There are, however, ſome exceptions from this cuſtom, which is perhaps the greateſt piece of barbarity that can be objected to the natives of this part of *America*. I am myſelf inclined to think that crimes perpetrated by perſons intoxicated only meet with this indulgence, and the reaſon they give for it, is, that ſuch perſons know not what they do, and therefore are to be treated as lunaticks.

Murder excuſed, or extenuated.

They ſeem to rank women and children in the ſame claſs with perſons in liquor, as they hold it unworthy of men to defend themſelves againſt them, provided always, that no attempt be made againſt their lives, or that there be no danger of being maimed, in which caſe they endeavour if poſſible to avoid the danger by flight. But ſhould an *Indian* kill any perſon belonging to the ſame cabin, if he be found

have been in liquor, which the criminals often feign, when they meditate an aſſaſſination, they content themſelves with lamenting the fate of the defunct as an unhappy accident; for as to the perſon who committed the murder, he knew not, ſay they, what he did. In caſe it ſhould happen that the murderer were found to have done it in cold blood, they make no heſitation to extenuate or rather defend the crime, by ſaying, he muſt certainly have good grounds for ſo doing. If it be proved that the aggreſſor had no cauſe of complaint againſt the deceaſed, the puniſhment of the murder is left entirely to thoſe of his own cabin, who have power to judge him to death, which indeed ſeldom happens, without any form of juſtice, whence this puniſhment has more the air of private revenge, than of the execution of public juſtice. And ſometimes the chief is glad of any opportunity to get rid of a troubleſome ſubject. In ſhort, crimes are puniſhed in ſuch a way, as neither to ſatisfy common and natural juſtice, nor to eſtabliſh the public peace and ſecurity.

Puniſhment left to relations.

The murder of a perſon who has a numerous kindred, committed by one who has the ſame connections, is always attended with unhappy conſequences, and is ſometimes capable of raiſing a combuſtion in the whole canton, or even in the entire nation. For this reaſon, the council of ſeniors is very attentive, on ſuch occaſions, to accommodate matters betimes, and the public generally makes the preſents, and perform every other neceſſary formality towards the offended family. The immediate puniſhment of the offender would be ſufficient to appeaſe the whole ſtorm, and the relations of the deceaſed have a right to inflict what puniſhment they think proper, provided they get him into their power. But his own cabin think it a diſgrace to themſelves to ſuffer him to be puniſhed, and the village or canton frequently refuſe to compel them to give him up to juſtice.

Murder how puniſhed by the *Hurons*.

The *Hurons* are ſaid by ſome miſſionaries, who had long reſided in their country, to puniſh murder in the following manner: They ſtretch the dead body upon poles in the upper part of ſome cabin, and oblige the aſſaſſin to remain under it for ſeveral days together, and to receive not only on himſelf, but alſo on what is allowed him for his ſuſtenance, all that falls from the putrid carcaſs; unleſs he can prevail with the relations of the defunct, by means of a certain gratification, to have his food preſerved from the putrefaction. But Father *Brebeuf*, from whom this account is extracted, does not ſay whether this puniſhment was in conſequence of the ſentence of the laws, and an exertion of the public juſtice of the nation, or inflicted by way of repriſal only by the relations of the dead, in the caſe of the murderer's falling into their hands.

Perſons ſlain redeemed by religion.

Be this as it will, the moſt common method of indemnifying the relations of the ſlain, amongſt thoſe *Indians*, is to replace him by a priſoner of war. In this caſe the captive is generally adopted into the place of the party that has been killed, when he enters into the full enjoyment of all his advantages, ſo that both the dead and the quarrel are ſoon forgotten.

Witch capital

There are, however, certain odious crimes which are puniſhed with immediate death, at leaſt amongſt ſome nations; ſuch as, for inſtance, wizzards or magicians, for ill offices, which they are ſuppoſed to exerciſe towards certain perſons by means of certain arts. Whoever is ſuſpected of witchcraft or magic, can never be ſafe any where, they even compel them to undergo a kind of rack or torture to make them diſcover their accomplices, after which the criminal is condemned to the ſame ſort of death as the priſoners of war, but the conſent of his family muſt firſt be had, which is only for form ſake, or in compliance with ancient cuſtom, for they dare by no means run the riſk of a refuſal. Thoſe who are leaſt obnoxious are commonly ſtunned before they are burnt.

As [illegible] theft

Thoſe who diſhonour their families, that is, who are guilty of theft, are alſo to undergo the ſame puniſhment; and it is commonly the family who executes the ſentence, and rights themſelves in that manner.

Amongſt the *Hurons*, who were formerly much addicted to thieving, and who performed it with a dexterity and addreſs which would have done honour to our moſt accompliſhed pick-pockets, it was lawful on diſcovering the thief, not only to take back what he had robbed, but alſo to carry off all the goods and chattles of his cabin, and to ſtrip his wife, children, and himſelf ſtark naked, without their daring to make the leaſt reſiſtance.

In

In other cafes, in order to ſhun all diſputes on ſuch occaſions, they agreed on certain maxims, from which they never departed. For example, every thing loſt, if but an inſtant before, became the property of the finder, if the loſer had not already reclaimed it. But the leaſt fraud on the part of the former, was ſufficient to found a claim of reſtitution, which occaſioned ſometimes vehement and moſt vexatious conteſtations. Law of loſer and finder.

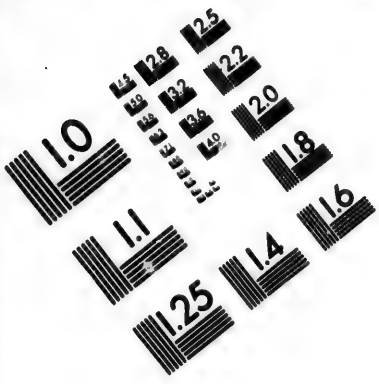
I muſt not omit one particular, with reſpect to the crime of murder. It has been related above, that, in order to prevent the fatal effects of ſuch crimes, the public took upon itſelf the charge of making the neceſſary ſubmiſſions, and paying the preſents for the ſlayer. But what is ſurpriſing enough to us, this very circumſtance is more efficacious to prevent murder, and all its fatal conſequences, in this country, than the ſevereſt laws, and the moſt exemplary puniſhments. For as thoſe ſorts of ſati-factions, or compenſations, are extremely chargeable to thoſe *Indians*, whoſe extreme haughtineſs ſurpaſſes all imagination, the criminal is more affected by this burden, and by the ſtain to which he ſubjects the public, then he could poſſibly be on his own account; and their zeal for the honour of their country, lays a greater reſtraint upon them than death, or the cruelleſt torments. *Indians* how reſtrained from murder.

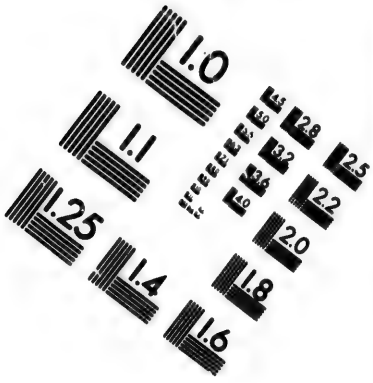
This impunity, however, ſeems to be but of a late original among them, ſince the firſt miſſionaries who went amongſt them found many [illegible] of the antient ſeverity, and of the rigour with which crimes were pun[illegible] in particular, has always been deemed an indelible ſtain on the honour [illegible] and any one had a right to waſh it out in the blood of the offende[illegible] miſſionaries, Father *Brebeuf*, perceiving one day, a young *Huron* w[illegible] catching a young woman, ran towards him to prevent an action which appeared to atrocious, aſking him what could provoke him to ſo horrid a violence. "She is my ſiſter, ſaid the other, and a thief, and I am now going to expiate the injury done me and all our family, by the death of the wretch who is the occaſion of it." Crimes more ſeverely puniſhed in former times. *Huron* kills his ſiſter for theft

The *Indians*, at leaſt amongſt ſeveral of the *Algonkin* nations, allow of a plurality of wives, and the general cuſtom is to marry all the ſiſters together, from a perſuaſion that ſiſters are more likely to agree together, than mere ſtrangers. In this caſe, all the wives are of equal rank, and on the ſame footing; but among the true *Algonkins* they are of two different ranks, the ſecond being mere ſlaves to the others. In ſome nations the faſhion is to have a wife in every quarter where they commonly reſort in the hunting ſeaſon; and, this cuſtom, we are told, has been lately introduced amongſt the *Hurons*, who, in former times, were known to have been contented with one wife. But there is a much greater diſorder ſtill which prevails in the *Iroquois* canton of *Tſonnonthouan*, who allow of a plurality of huſbands. Plurality of wives and huſbands.

Both *Hurons* and *Iroquois* are, however, remarkably ſcrupulous as to the degrees of kindred or affinity in their marriages. They tolerate not the remoteſt degree of conſanguinity between the parties, in which reſpect adoption has the ſame force as affinity. The huſband, however, in caſe of the death of his wife, is obliged to marry her ſiſter; and the wife is obliged to obſerve the ſame rule with reſpect to her huſband's brother, in caſe of his deceaſe without iſſue by her, and provided ſhe is ſtill capable of having children. The reaſons they alledge are precisely the ſame with thoſe of the *Levitical* law in *Deut.* xxv. 5. *Suſcitabit ſemen fratri ſuo.* The huſband who refuſes to comply with this law of marrying the ſiſter, or near relation of his deceaſed wife, ſubjects himſelf to all the outrages of the party rejected, and he is obliged to endure all without murmuring. When, through any deficiency of relations, the widow is permitted to marry out of her huſband's family, they are obliged to make her preſents, as a public acknowledgement and teſtimony of her prudent deportment; and this is what ſhe may lawfully claim, provided ſhe has behaved herſelf diſcreetly and virtuouſly all the time of her married ſtate. Amongſt what perſons marriage is lawful. Where marriage is not obligatory.

Amongſt all theſe nations, and particularly amongſt the *Algonkins*, are certain families of eminent rank and quality, which are not at liberty to intermarry with any others. The ſtate of marriage is generally held ſacred and inviolable in this country, and concubinage, or marriages contracted for a certain ſpace of time only, are commonly held as tranſgreſſions againſt good order and ſound policy. A huſband who ſhould abandon his wife muſt expect many ill offices from her relations; and a wife who ſhould abſent herſelf from her huſband, muſt be content to endure much more of the ſame ſort of treatment. Marriage held in honour, and concubinage diſgraceful.





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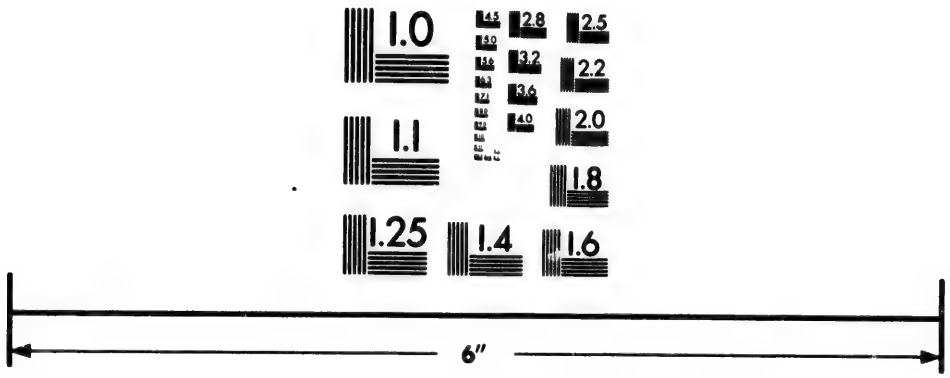

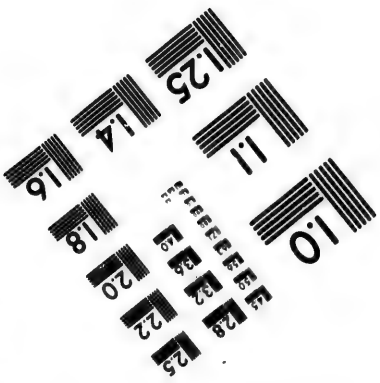

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Elopement, and ſeparation by mutual conſent.

Amongſt the *Miamis* it is cuſtomary for the huſband to cut off the noſe of a wife that elopes from him; but with the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* the married couple may quit the ſociety of each other by mutual conſent. This is done without any noiſe, and the ſeparated parties are at liberty to contract new engagements. Their reaſon for this conduct generally is, what one of them ſaid one day to a miſſionary, "My wife and I cannot agree together; my neighbour is exactly in the ſame ſituation; we have changed wives, and now we are all four content. What can be more reaſonable than to make one another mutually happy, eſpecially when it can be done at ſo little expence, and without the leaſt detriment to any one?" This cuſtom is, however, regarded both as an abuſe and a novelty, which laſt it certainly is, at leaſt among the *Iroquois*.

Jealouſy frequent, and of ill conſequence.

But the great diſturber of domeſtic peace amongſt the *Indians* of *Canada* is jealouſy, which commonly rages amongſt both parties alike. The *Iroquois*, however, uſed to boaſt, that they are free from this evil; but, beſides that ſomewhat of this ſort is inſeparable from human nature, if both parties happen to love each other, thoſe who have frequented their company aſſure us, that they are no leſs ſubject to this paſſion than the reſt of their countrymen on the ſame continent. When a woman diſcovers that her huſband entertains any liking to another, the rival muſt be very much upon her guard, and the rather as the huſband, who is guilty of this act of infidelity, dares not ſtir in her defence or protection. A huſband who ſhould uſe his wife ill on that account would incur eternal infamy.

Cuſtoms relating to marriage.

The parents ſettle all marriages between themſelves, the parties never appearing in them, but abandoning themſelves blindly to the will of thoſe on whom they depend. Nothing is, however, concluded without their conſent, though this be a mere piece of formality. The firſt advances are made by the matrons; but it is never known that the friends of the future bride make any overtures. If a young woman has ſtood long in the market, it is not unuſual for the relations to try what they can do to get her a man. But this muſt be done under-hand, and with a great deal of cunning and addreſs to cover their deſign. In ſome parts the girls are never forced to marry, and are permitted to make as many eſſays of marriage as they think proper, previous to a ſtate which the ceremony, they think, ſerves only to render the more inſupportable.

Remarkable continence of new-married couples.

The behaviour of the young folks during the courtſhip, or rather the bargain, is for the moſt part extremely modeſt, though the ſame, it ſeems, cannot be ſaid in praiſe of ancient times. There is one circumſtance related by good authors, which *Charlevoix*, who ſhould be a judge of what men are capable in point of continency, thinks abſolutely impoſſible, which is, that in ſeveral places the new married couple cohabit a whole year without knowing each other, ſo that a woman with child, in the firſt year of her marriage, would be looked upon as a perſon who had loſt her character; and juſtly, becauſe, ſay they, perſons ſhould marry out of friendſhip, and not to ſatisfy their paſſions. Hence Platonic love ſeems not confined to our continent, and thoſe pure flames of that refined and celeſtial paſſion, which is, however, much more talked of every where than felt, make themſelves perceived, even among the ſavage philoſophers of *America*. We will not enter into the detail, which, as that good father, to whom I owe this particular, thinks, rather weakens than augments the probability of what is here affirmed. After what has been ſaid, we ought to be leſs ſcrupulous in believing what is related of the behaviour of the young couple during their abode in thoſe places, where they are permitted to converſe together in private. For tho' cuſtom allows them much ſecret familiarity, yet in thoſe habitations where modeſty is expoſed to the greateſt dangers, and ever under the covert of the night, it is pretended that nothing ever paſſes that is capable of wounding the chaſteſt imagination.

Preſents preliminary to marriage.

The future bridegroom is to make all the preſents, in which, as indeed in every other particular of his behaviour, he takes care to ſhew his intended ſpouſe all the reſpect imaginable. In ſome places, the young man is contented with ſitting down by the ſide of his beloved in her cabin; which, if ſhe ſuffers, and remains in her place, it is taken as her conſent, and the marriage is concluded. However, amidſt all this outward deference, he gives her intimations that he is very ſoon to become her lord and maſter. Amongſt the preſents he beſtows, ſome are rather to be regarded as ſo many marks and ſymbols of her future ſlavery, than as teſtimonies of the reſpect of a lover: Such as the collar, the chaldron or kettle, and the faggot, which are brought into her cabin, to ſhew that it is her part to carry burdens, to provide fuel for

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her houſe, and to dreſs her huſband's victuals. And it is even cuſtomary, in ſome parts, for the bride to bring into the cabin beforehand all the wood to be conſumed in it the following winter.

Remark on female authority.

It is remarkable beſides, that in every one of the above particulars there is no manner of variation between ſuch nations where the women have all the authority in their hands, and thoſe where they are of no weight in public buſineſs; for even the women who are, at leaſt in appearance, the miſtreſſes and ſovereigns of the ſtate, and make the chief body of the nation, when they have reached a certain age, and have children capable of cauſing them to be reſpected, yet have no manner of deference paid them before, and are, at the ſame time, the very ſlaves of their huſbands, in what relates to the management of their domeſtic affairs.

Cuſtoms and ſervices relating to wives and mothers.

There is perhaps no nation under the ſun that, in general, deſpiſe the ſex more than the *Indians*; and to call one of them a woman, is the greateſt inſult. The children, however, which is at the ſame time odd enough, belong only to the mother, and acknowledge her authority alone. The father is regarded as no more than an alien, in relation to them, with ſuch reſtriction however, that if he is not treated as a father, he is always reſpected as maſter of the cabin. It is not certain whether this be univerſally the caſe in *Canada*, no more than what is found in good memoirs, that the young women, beſides what ſervices their huſbands have a right to demand of them, with regard to their domeſtic affairs, are alſo obliged to provide for their own relations, which is probably the caſe, when ſuch relations have no other perſon left to do theſe ſervices, and when their great age or infirmities have rendered them incapable of helping themſelves.

Offices and employment of huſbands.

However this be, the new huſband has alſo his peculiar functions. Beſides hunting and fiſhing, obligations which laſt as long as his life, he is firſt of all to make a matras for his wife, build her a cabin, or elſe to repair one for her reception; and whilſt he remains with his father and mother in law, he is to bring thither all the produce of his hunting. Amongſt the *Iroquois*, the woman never goes out of the cabin, becauſe ſhe is deemed the miſtreſs, or at leaſt the heireſs of it. Amongſt other nations ſhe goes, two or three years after their marriage, to live with her mother in law.

Cuſtom of women in labour, lying in and ſuckling.

The *Canadian* women are commonly delivered without hard labour or aſſiſtance: Some are, however, much longer in travail than others, and ſuffer extremely. When this happens, the youth are firſt acquainted with it, who, all of a ſudden, and when the ſick woman leaſt of all ſuſpects it, ſet up a loud ſhout at the door of her cabin, the ſurpriſe of which cauſes a ſpeedy delivery. The women never lye-in in their own cabins; they are frequently ſurpriſed with their pains, and delivered when at work, or on a journey. As for others, who take more care of themſelves, they generally build them a hut without the village, where they remain forty days after being brought to bed. This is, however, ſaid to be practiſed only when they lye in of their firſt child. This term being expired, all the fires of the cabin to which they are to return are extinguiſhed, all the baggage ſhaken, and a new fire kindled on their entrance. Much the ſame formalities are obſerved, with reſpect to all the ſex, at certain times, which are peculiar to them, and not only ſo, but alſo whilſt they are pregnant, and in time of ſuckling. They commonly ſuckle three whole years, during which, and their pregnancy, their huſbands never approach them. This cuſtom occaſions frequent infidelities on both ſides; and it is affirmed, that the women in thoſe countries make common uſe of certain ſimples, with which they are acquainted, to prevent the conſequences of thoſe irregularities.

Mothers, how they treat their children.

Nothing can exceed the fondneſs of mothers towards their children, whilſt in the cradle; but, from the moment they are weaned, they abandon them entirely to their own conduct, not from any indifference, or hardneſs of heart, for they never loſe their maternal tenderneſs while they live, but, from a perſuaſion that it is better to let nature work her will in them, and that ſhe ought to be reſtrained in nothing.

Ceremony of naming the child.

The act by which they conclude their age of infancy is the giving them their name, which, amongſt theſe nations, is a thing of no ſmall importance. This ceremony is performed in a feaſt, at which are preſent none but perſons of the ſame ſex with the child to be named. During the repaſt, the child is held on the knees of his father or mother, who never ceaſe invoking and recommending him to the genii, and, above all, to the genius who is to be his guardian; for they believe that every

one has his own tutelar ſpirit, though not when he is born. They never invent new names, but each family has a certain number which are properly its own, and which they uſe by turns, and in rotation. Sometimes too they change them as they grow older, and ſome may not be born after a certain age, though this cuſtom is believed to prevail only amongſt certain nations. And as it is uſual amongſt ſome nations, on taking any name, for the perſon who takes it to ſucceed in place of him who laſt bore it, it often happens, that a child is treated as a grandfather by a perſon who for age might very well be his own.

Salutations. They never ſalute or accoſt any perſon by his own name in familiar diſcourſe; this would be a great piece of uncivility. They always give him the quality he bears with reſpect to the perſon who addreſſes him; and if there be neither affinity nor relation between the two, they ſalute one another by the name of brother, uncle, nephew, or couſin, according to their age, or the degree of reſpect they would ſhew the perſon to whom they ſpeak.

Motives for revival of names. It may be further remarked, that it is not ſo much with a deſign to perpetuate their names, that they chuſe to revive them, as from a deſire, that thoſe on whom they are beſtowed ſhould imitate the virtues and exploits of thoſe who bore them, or revenge their deaths, if they have been killed or burnt, or, laſtly, to comfort their families for their loſs. Thus a woman who has loſt her huſband, or ſon, and ſo becomes deſtitute of all ſupport, delays not to beſtow the name of the deceaſed on ſome perſon to fill his place. In ſhort, there are ſeveral other reaſons why they change their names, which it would be too tedious to mention; a dream, the preſcription of ſome quack, or ſome other reaſon equaliy frivolous, being ſufficient for that purpoſe.

As dancing is an act of great conſequence amongſt the natives of *Canada*, being an eſſential in treaties, and ſeveral other matters of high moment, a deſcription of ſome of thoſe moſt noted may help to convey a more diſtinct, as well as curious and entertaining idea, of the nature of thoſe people. Of theſe the chief ſeems to be the dance of the Calumet, which is performed with abundance of variation, according to the occaſion and people who exhibit the ſolemnity. It is properly a military feſtival, in which the ſole actors are ſoldiers, and one would imagine it were ouly a contrivance to give them an opportunity of diſplaying and deſcanting on their exploits. Some have believed that this ceremony had its riſe from the wand of *Mercury*, and that in its firſt inſtitution it was eſteemed the ſymbol of peace. All who danced this dance, ſays *Charlevoix*, an eye-witneſs; all who ſung, and who beat the drum, and played on the chichicoué, were young perſons, equipped as when they go to war. Their faces were painted with all manner of colours, their heads adorned with feathers, which they alſo held in their hands, like fans. The calumet, or pipe, was alſo ornamented with them, and ſet up in the moſt conſpicuous place, which was ſurrounded by the band of muſic and dancers. The ſpectators were divided into ſeveral groups, or ſeparate bodies, the women apart from the men, and attired in their beſt apparel, which at a diſtance made a very pleaſant ſight. Between the orcheſtra and the *French* commandant of the poſt where this ceremony was performed, who was ſeated in the porch of his own apartment, they had fixed a poſt, which. after every dance, one of the warriors approached, and ſtruck with his battle-axe. After this ſignal given, there enſued a profound ſilence, when this hero related aloud ſome of his principal feats, and thoſe for which he moſt valued himſelf, and, after receiving the cuſtomary applauſe, went to take his place, and then the play began again in the ſame manner. This ceremony, which was performed by the *Sakis* and *Octchagras*, two *Indian* nations, laſted two full hours for each nation, in which, ſays *Charlevoix*, I took very little delight, not only becauſe of the monotony and diſagreeableneſs of the muſic, but alſo becauſe this dancing conſiſted only in ſome contorſions of body, expreſſive of nothing, and void of all meaning, and very far from being any way diverting.

Dance of the Calumet, or Pipe.

Remarks. This feaſt, that writer proceeds, was made in honour of the new *French* commandant, in which, he ſays, he ſaw none of thoſe ceremonies mentioned in ſome authors, ſuch as placing the commandant on a matraſs, making him preſents, placing a crown of feathers on his head, and preſenting him the calumet; nor were there any naked men, painted all over, adorned with feathers and collars of porcelain, and holding in their hands the calumet. Perhaps this is not the cuſtom of thoſe particular

ſavages,

ſavages, and perhaps alſo M. *de Montigny* had diſpenſed with this part of the ceremonial. I obſerved only, that here and there all the aſſiſtants made great ſhouts of applauſe in honour of the dancers, and eſpecially during the dance of the *Oüachagras*, who, of the two nations, diverſified their play more, ſhewed an extraordinary agility, are lighter and better made, and, in ſhort, bore away all the honours of the day.

Dance of the Diſcovery.

The dance of the Diſcovery is probably more entertaining. It has not only more action in it, but is alſo more expreſſive of the ſubject, which it repreſents, than the former. It is properly a lively repreſentation of all the particulars of a campaign; and as theſe *Indians* turn all their thoughts to ſurpriſe their enemy, as before obſerved, their whole art military conſiſts only in ſtratagem; hence, probably, this dance has obtained the name of the Diſcovery. Be this as it will, one man alone dances; at firſt he advances ſlowly into the middle of the place, where, after remaining ſome time without motion, he repreſents, one after another, the departure of the warriors for the campaign, the march, their encampments, the ſetting out on the diſcovery, the approach towards the enemy, and the halt as if to recover breath. Then, all of a ſudden, tranſporting himſelf into a fury, you would imagine he were going to kill all the world; after this, recovering from the fit, he ſeizes on one of the aſſiſtants as if he were taking him priſoner of war; ſhews the manner of uſing the battle-ax with regard to another; takes aim at a third; and, laſt of all, falls a running with his utmoſt ſpeed. He then pauſes and recovers his former coolneſs, which ſignifies the retreat; then, by different cries, he expreſſes the various ſituations of his own mind during his laſt campaign; and, laſtly, cloſes the ſcene with the recital of all the fine actions he had performed during the war.

Dance of the Calumet, or Pipe, with various figures.

When the dance of the calumet, or pipe, has, as uſual, the concluſion of ſome treaty, or the making ſome alliance againſt the common enemy for its object, they engrave in that caſe a ſerpent on its funnel, or ſtem, and beſide it they place a board, on which are repreſented two men of the two confederate nations, with an enemy under their feet, who is known by the mark of his nation. Sometimes, in place of the pipe, they make uſe of a battle-ax. But if the buſineſs be only a ſimple alliance, they repreſent two men holding each other by one hand, and carrying the pipe of peace in the other, and each having the mark of their own nation beſide them.

Treaties attended with pledges.

In all treaties they give pledges on both ſides, ſuch as collars of porcelain, calumets, or pipes of ceremony, ſlaves, ſometimes deer-ſkins or elk-ſkins, well dreſſed, and adorned with figures made of hair of porcupines; and it is on thoſe ſkins that the above-mentioned repreſentations are made with this hair, or elſe with ſimple colours.

Ordinary dance of the warriors.

There are other dances of a ſimpler kind, in which their ſole view is to give the warriors occaſion to relate their exploits. The *Indians* are particularly fond of this cuſtom, and never tired of it. He who gives the repaſt invites all thoſe of the ſame village by tuck of drum, and they aſſemble in his cabin, if it be capable of containing all the gueſts. The warriours dance one after another, then ſtriking on a poſt a ſilence enſues, when every one ſays what he can for himſelf, and now and then ſtops to receive the congratulations of the audience, who are far from being ſparing of their praiſes. But ſhould any of them be found bragging of a feat which is not true, any one preſent is at liberty to ſmear his head with earth or aſhes, or to play him any other roguiſh trick he thinks proper. The general way is to black his face, ſaying to him, "What I now do is that I may hide thy ſhame, for the firſt time thou ſeeſt an enemy thou wilt certainly turn as pale as aſhes." Thus all nations agree in the opinion that no boaſter can poſſibly be a brave man. He who has puniſhed the vain-glorious in this manner takes his place, and if he falls into the ſame fault, the other is ſure to have his revenge in kind. The greateſt chief amongſt them would not be free from this cenſure, and muſt endure it with patience; this dance is always in the night time.

Buffalo dance.

In the Weſtern parts there is a different ſort of dance which they call the Buffalo dance. The dancers form themſelves into ſeveral circles, and the ſymphony, which is always compoſed of the drum and the chichicoué, is placed in the middle of the ſpace. They take care not to ſeparate thoſe of the ſame family; and never join hands, but every man bears his buckler and arms. Thoſe circles turn not all the ſame way, and tho' they caper very much, and ſpring to a great height, they never loſe the meaſure nor cadence of the muſic. The chief preſents his buckler from time to time,

each of the aſſiſtants ſtrike on it, and at every blow they repeat ſome of their warlike exploits. He then cuts ſome tobacco from a poſt, where it is always carefully hung on theſe occaſions, and preſents it to his friends. If any one of the reſt can make it appear that he has performed finer things than the preſent pretender, or that any part of the praiſe of the deeds he has boaſted belongs properly to himſelf, the chief has a right to retake the tobacco he has cut and preſented, and to beſtow it on ſome other. The dance is accompanied or followed with a feaſt. The original of the name of this feſtival is quite unknown, unleſs perhaps it comes, as *Charlevoix* conjectures, from the bucklers they carry in it, which are made of hides of buffaloes. I ſhould be apt to imagine too, that the circles were originally intended to repreſent the manner of hunting thoſe animals, which are incloſed and taken by hemming them round.

Dances for diſeaſes and diverſions.

There are alſo dances preſcribed by their phyſicians or quacks, as a cure for certain diſeaſes; but theſe exerciſes are commonly performed after a very wanton and laſcivious manner. Some dances are intended merely for diverſion, and relate to nothing elſe. Theſe are always in a round form to the ſound of the drum and chichicoué, and the women by themſelves. The men dance with their arms in their hands, and, tho' they join not hands, take care not to ſpoil the figure, which is a circle. The muſic of the *Indians* conſiſts only of two or three notes, on which they are perpetually chiming, ſo that one of us ſoon grows weary of ſuch entertainments, and eſpecially the firſt time, both on account of their extreme tedioufneſs, for they laſt very long, and alſo becauſe one hears nothing but the ſame ſounds repeated without end.

Game of the Platter.

Amongſt the games of the *Indians* one of the moſt frequent, and to which they are moſt addicted, is called the Game of the Diſh or Platter. This is moſt in vogue amongſt the *Hurons*, who are ſo beſotted on it, as to ſacrifice all the peace of their lives, and reaſon itſelf, to its allurements. They often riſk their all at it, and cannot be perſuaded to leave it off, even after loſing all their goods and furniture of their cabins, and ſtripping themſelves naked. Some have ſtaked their liberty for a certain time, a circumſtance, which ſets the ardency of their paſſion for it beyond all doubt, ſince no people under heaven ſets a greater value on their liberty than thoſe nations. This game, which we ſhall call the game of the Platter, can only be played between two perſons, each of whom has ſix or eight little bones, ſomewhat reſembling, both in ſize and figure, the ſtones of apricots. Theſe have ſix faces of unequal dimenſions, the two chief of which are painted, the one black and the other of a pale yellow, or ſtraw colour. Theſe bones are made to hop or leap into the air, by ſtriking the ground or table with a round hollow diſh, in which theſe bones are firſt placed, and then ſhaken or rattled. When they cannot get a platter, they are forced to be content with toſſing their bones with their hands. If on falling they all preſent the ſame colour, he to whom it falls, gets ſix points. The party is forty, and in proportion as the other gets, the winner diſcounts ſo many points from thoſe he gained before. Five bones of a colour give only one point for the firſt time, but after throwing them a ſecond time they ſweep the board, any leſs number is reckoned nothing. He that wins the party continues the game, but the loſer yields his place to ſome other, who is named by the perſon who marks his party. For they all take their different parties from the beginning, ſo that the whole village is often concerned in the game, and even ſometimes one village plays againſt another. Each party chooſes its own marker, who gives up at pleaſure, which happens only when his own ſide has the worſt. Every ſtroke that is plaid, and eſpecially if it be deciſive, is attended with a prodigious ſhout. The players ſeem as if tranſported, and the ſpectators are ſeized with the ſame frenzy. All of them make a thouſand different contorſions, beſpeak the bones, and load the genii of the oppoſite party with imprecations, and the whole village reſounds with hallooing and bellowing. If all this be not enough to recall their luck, the loſers have it in their power to put off the party till the morrow, on paying the expence of a very ſorry treat to the company.

They then prepare to return to the fight, each invokes his own guardian genius, throwing at the ſame time tobacco into the fire to his honour; above all they beg of him to grant them happy dreams, and, as ſoon as day appears, they recommence the game. Great parties laſt generally five or ſix days, and often-times the intervening night gives them no interruption. In the mean time, as all the aſſiſtants, at

leaſt

leaſt thoſe intereſted in the game, are tranſported with eagerneſs, and as quarrels frequently ariſe, which are never known to happen amongſt the *Indians*, but either when they are drunk or at play, it is eaſy to gueſs how much both parties ſtand in need of reſt at the end of a game.

Ceremonies preparatory to the game.

Theſe parties at play, are ſometimes ordered by the preſcription of ſome phyſician, or at the prayer of ſome ſick perſon; and a dream of either is ſufficient for that purpoſe. This dream is always taken for the command of ſome genius, in which caſe they prepare for the game with uncommon care. They aſſemble ſeveral nights ſucceſſively to make a preliminary trial, and to ſee who is like to have the happieſt fortune, or luckieſt hand at a throw. They conſult their genius, they faſt, and, if they are married perſons, abſtain from their wives, and all this to obtain a favourable dream. Every morning they relate thoſe they have had, and amongſt all thoſe things they could poſſibly have dreamt, and which they imagine to have ſome lucky interpretation, they make a collection which they incloſe in ſatchels and carry about them. If any one has the reputation of being more fortunate than another, which is equivalent, in the opinions of theſe people, with having a more powerful genius, and more diſpoſed to grant them his protection, they never fail to make him ſtand near the perſon who holds the platter. They will even ſometimes go a great way to ſeek ſuch a perſon, and if old age or ſome other infirmity ſhould happen to diſable him from coming on his own legs, they will carry him on their ſhoulders.

Story of a ſick woman.

They have often invited the miſſionaries to be preſent at thoſe parties, out of a belief, that their genii were more powerful than their own. It happened that a ſick woman, in one of the *Huron* villages, having called one of their pretended phyſicians, this quack ordered the game of the platter, directing, at the ſame time, another village for the ſcene of this tranſaction. The patient ſent without delay to aſk the permiſſion of the chief of it, which was granted, and the game being finiſhed, the woman made them a thouſand acknowledgments for her cure. She was ſo far, however, from being recovered, that ſhe was much worſe than ever; but they are obliged to counterfeit an eaſe and ſatisfaction, even when they have leaſt grounds. The ill nature of this wench, and of her relations, diſcharged itſelf on the miſſionaries, for refuſing to be preſent at the game, reproaching them, for that ſince their coming into the country the genii of the *Indians* had no longer the ſame power as in former times. On theſe religious remonſtrating to them the weakneſs of their pretended divinities on this occaſion, they anſwered them coolly, "You have your Gods, and we have ours; only we are the worſt off of the two, becauſe ours are not ſo powerful as yours."

Game of Straws.

The game of Straws is another *Indian* diverſion, practiſed amongſt the *Miamis* and *Pontcouatamis*. This is played, ſometimes at leaſt, in the chief's cabin, and in the ſquare before it. Theſe ſtraws are ſmall ruſhes of the thickneſs of a ſtalk of corn, and of the length of two fingers. They take a parcel of theſe, containing commonly two hundred and one, and always an odd number. After they have ſhuffled them very well, making, at the ſame time, a thouſand contorſions, and invoking their genii, they divide them by a ſort of awl, or pointed bone, into packets of ten; every one takes one at a venture, and he to whoſe ſhare the packet with the eleven falls, gains ſuch a number of points, according to an agreement made before-hand. The party is ſixty, or four-ſcore.

Indians addicted to gaming.

They have alſo different ways of playing the ſame game, in which it is obſerved, that dexterity has full as large a ſhare as chance; that the *Indians* are, in general, great cheats in all ſorts of games; that they are ſo entirely addicted to gaming, as to ſpend whole days and nights at it, and oftentimes continue playing till they have ſtripped themſelves quite naked, and have nothing left to loſe. They have another diverſion ſtill, which, if it be leſs detrimental to the fortunes, is quite as deſtructive to the morals of theſe nations. Of this we have the following account:

Dance prompting an allignation.

Towards night they ſet up, in the middle of ſome great cabin, a number of poſts, placed in a circular form, in the midſt of which are the players on inſtruments. On each poſt is placed a packet of down, amongſt which are ſome of all ſorts of colours. The youth of both ſexes dance round thoſe poſts, the girls with packets of down of the colour they fancy moſt. One of the young men advances, from time to time, to lay hold of a packet of that colour which he knows is agreeable to his miſtreſs, and placing it on her head, dances round her, intimating, by ſigns, ſome place of

meeting, where he would be glad to ſee her. The dance ended, the feaſt begins, and laſts the whole day. In the evening every one retires, when the girls, in ſpite of the vigilance of their mothers, find a way to the place of aſſignation.

Game of the Croſs. The *Miamis* have two games beſides, one of which is called the *Game of the Croſs*. This is played with a ball and ſticks bent, and ſmoothed like racquets. Two poles are ſet up, which ſerve as boundaries, at a certain diſtance, in proportion to the number of players. If there are fourſcore players, half a league is allotted for the ſpace between the poles. The players are divided into two bands, who have each their pole, and the ſtrife is, who ſhall drive the ball to the pole of the other party, without ſuffering it to touch the ground, and without touching it with their hands. In either of theſe caſes the game is loſt: at leaſt, he who ſuffers the ball to drop, or who touches it, can only repair the fault by driving the ball to the end at one blow, which is ſeldom poſſible.

Game of Toſs-ball. The other game is much like this laſt, and not in the leaſt dangerous. Two boundaries are marked off, as in the former, the players filling the ſpace between them. He who is to begin, toſſes a ball into the air perpendicularly as he can, that he may the more eaſily catch it, and throw it towards the boundary. All the reſt have their arms lifted up, and he who catches it, gives it a toſs, as before, or, at leaſt, throws the ball to one of the ſame ſide, whom he believes more expert than himſelf; for, to gain the party, the ball muſt never fall into the hands of the adverſary, till it has reached the boundary. The women too play at this game, though but ſeldom, and their parties are of five or ſix of a ſide, and the ſide that firſt ſuffers the ball to fall to the ground, loſes the game.

Religion of the *Indians*. I ſhall next lay before the reader what I have been able to collect concerning the opinions, traditions, and religion of the *Indians* inhabiting this part of the continent of *North America*. Nothing is more certain, than that they have an idea of the ſupreme being, though their notions of his nature are, at the ſame time, very confuſed. All of them, however, agree in reſpecting him as the ſovereign ſpirit, the maſter and creator of the univerſe. They have alſo ſeveral other opinions concerning his nature, but they are ſuch incoherent ſyſtems, and blended with ſo many wild imaginations, and ridiculous fables, and all with ſo little uniformity, that nothing very ſatisfactory can be ſaid of them. It is pretended, that the *Sioux* approach nearer to our notions of the divine nature in this hemiſphere; but the little commerce the *French* have hitherto had with this people, has rendered it impoſſible for them to give us any tolerable account of their traditions, or that may be, with any ſhew of grounds, depended on.

Three gods. All the *Algonkin* nations ſeem to agree in giving the ſupreme being the title of *the Great Hare*; ſome of them call him *Michabou*, and others give him the name of *Atahocan*. Moſt part of them too aſſert, that he was formerly born upon the waters, with all his retinue, conſiſting of quadrupeds, like himſelf; that he created the earth out of a grain of ſand, drawn from the bottom of the ocean; and, laſtly, that man was formed by him out of the dead bodies of the other animals. Some of them alſo ſpeak of a God of the waters, who oppoſed, or, at leaſt, refuſed to lend his aſſiſtance to carry the deſigns of the *Great Hare* into execution. This God is, according to ſome, the *Great Tiger*. But we are to obſerve, that there are no real tigers in *Canada*, ſo that this tradition, in all appearance, comes from ſome foreign country. Laſtly, they acknowledge a third God, called *Matcomek*, whom they invoke in the winter ſeaſon, of whom I have been able to learn nothing worth mentioning.

Origin of mankind. The *Areſkoui* of the *Hurons*, and the *Agreſkoui* of the *Iroquois*, is, according to the notions of thoſe people, the ſupreme Being, and, at the ſame time, the God of war. Theſe laſt give a different origin to mankind from the *Algonkins*, and carry it much beneath the creator of the univerſe. They will have it, that ſix men firſt of all made their appearance on the theatre of the world. If you aſk them, who placed them there? Their anſwer is, they cannot tell. They add, that one of theſe men aſcended into heaven to ſearch for a woman, named *Atabenſic*, whom he had knowledge of, and afterwards proved with child by him; that the Lord of Heaven, on diſcovery, thruſt her down from the height of the empire of heaven, and that ſhe was received on the back of a tortoiſe; and that ſhe was afterwards delivered of two children, one of whom killed the other.

There

There is no more mention made of the other five men, nor of the huſband of *Atahenſic*, who, as ſome ſay, had only one daughter, the mother of *Thaouitſaron* and *Jouſkeka*. This laſt, who was the elder brother, killed the other, and, in a ſhort time after, his grandmother diſcharged on him the care of her government of the world. They ſay too that *Atahenſic* is the moon, and *Jouſkeka* the ſun. There is, however, little coherence in this, as in too many other ſyſtems of religion, the ſun being often held the ſame with *Areſkoui*, ſo far as he is eſteemed the Great Genius. Three fabulous deities.

The idea they have of ſpirit is that of a being of a more excellent nature than others, and they have no terms to expreſs any thing that exceeds the compaſs of their own underſtandings, which; if we may rely on good authorities, are extremely limited with reſpect to incorporeal things, or ſuch as are not within the cognizance of their ſenſes. They attribute, however, a kind of immenſity to their ſpirits, believing them every where preſent, and invoking and addreſſing them in all places wherever they happen to be, taking it for granted that they hear them, and act according to their deſires. If you preſs them to give you a farther account of thoſe matters, they tell you that this is all they have been taught; there are even none but certain old men initiated in their myſteries, that knew ſo much. *Indian* notion of ſpirit.

According to the *Iroquois*, the poſterity of *Jouſkeka* became extinct after the third generation; after that happened a deluge which not one ſurvived, ſo that, in order to re-people the earth, it was neceſſary to transform the brute animals into men. Thus all nations ſeem to have this tradition of a deluge; but this is no miracle, if we conſider the number of them which have happened in different periods, and in various parts of the globe; and there is ſcarce room to doubt of one peculiar to *America*, and much more recent than ſome of the reſt. Traditions of a deluge.

Beſides the great, or ſovereign ſpirit, of whom, as well as their other principal divinities, with reſpect to the origin of the world, they have a thouſand abſurd traditions, which it would be too tedious to relate in this place, they have alſo an infinity of good and evil genii, or inferiour ſpirits, who are the ſole objects of their private worſhip. The *Iroquois* place *Atahenſic* at the head of all the good, as they make *Jouſkeka* the chief of the others, and ſometimes confound him with that god who drove his grandmother from heaven, for ſuffering herſelf to be ſeduced by a mortal. They addreſs themſelves to their evil genii only to prevent their doing them ill turns, and they believe the others deſigned to be the guardians of mankind, each of whom has his own tutelar genius. Theſe are called in the *Huron* language *Okkis*, and in the *Algonkin Manitous*. To them they have recourſe in all dangers and undertakings, or when they want any extraordinary favour. There is even nothing however unreaſonable or contrary to good manners, which they think they may not lawfully aſk of them. They are however far from believing they have any right to their protection at their birth; in order to merit it, they muſt firſt of all be expert in the uſe of their bow and arrows: This favour is even received with much preparation, and is properly the moſt important article in their whole lives: The chief circumſtances in this ceremony are as follows. Good and evil genius.

They begin with blacking the viſage of the child; then they cauſe him to obſerve a faſt of eight days, without eating ſo much as a morſel of any thing, in which time of purification his genius is to appear to him in his dreams. The empty brain of a child cannot fail of producing ſuch dreams, which they are very careful to make him repeat every morning. They are however obliged to put an end to the farce before the lawful time, few children having ſtrength enough to ſupport it ſo long, tho' this cauſes little inconvenience, as theſe folk are not like ſome others altogether unacquainted with the commodious methods of diſpenſations. The tutelar genius is always, or at leaſt for the moſt part, the ſubject of the infant's dreams, in which every phantom or image is regarded as the ſymbol, or figure, under which the ſpirit appears. Tho' it happens to thoſe *Indians* as it does to the greateſt part of mankind, to attach themſelves to the figure, whilſt they entirely loſe ſight of the ſubſtance. Ceremony of engaging the good genius.

Theſe ſymbols, however, have no ſignification by themſelves; and ſometimes the ſymbol is a bird, ſometimes the foot of ſome animal, or a piece of wood; in ſhort, the moſt common and worthleſs thing in the world. They are, however, preſerved with the ſame care that the ancients had of their *dii penates*, or houſhould gods. There is even nothing in all nature, if we credit thoſe *Indians*, which has not its Symbols of the genius.

ſpirit, tho' theſe ſpirits are of all ranks and claſſes, and all of them have not an equal power or virtue. When they find themſelves at a loſs to comprehend any thing, they attribute it to ſome ſuperior genius; and then their way of expreſſing themſelves is, by ſaying, *This is a ſpirit.* The ſame is ſaid, and with more grounds, of men of extraordinary or of ſuperior talents, or who perform any thing beyond common, *they are ſpirits*; which is equivalent to ſaying, *they have a tutelar genius of an order ſuperior to the common run of mankind.*

Nothing without its ſpirit.

Religious impoſtors.

Some of them, but eſpecially their quacks, endeavour to perſuade the multitude that they ſuffer tranſports, and are in extaſies, or, in other words, that they are filled with a divine enthuſiaſm, the parent, ſays *Charlevoix*, of all falſe religions. And the natural vanity of man, or, what might be ſaid with more juſtice, their ſelfiſhneſs, has not been able to diſcover any machine more capable of governing the ignorant, and the multitude at laſt draws thoſe who value themſelves moſt on their ſuperior underſtanding along with them down the ſtream of popular error; an obſervation juſtified by the experience of all ages. The *American* impoſtors are not beholden to any other nation in regard to this point, and none are better acquainted with the ſecret of drawing every poſſible advantage from the holy craft. The quacks above all take care to make the people believe that, in thoſe extaſies, their genii reveal the ſecrets of the moſt diſtant events that lie hid in the womb of futurity. And as they ſometimes have the good luck to gueſs tolerably well, they by this means acquire infinite credit, and are believed to be inſpired with ſome genius of the firſt order.

Worſhip of the tutelar genius.

As ſoon as they have declared to a child what he is to look upon as his tutelar genius, from that time forth they inſtruct him carefully with reſpect to the obligation laid on him, to honour him, to follow all the advice he may receive from him in dreams, to merit his favour, to put his whole truſt and confidence in him, and to dread the effects of his wrath, ſhould he neglect to acquit himſelf of his duty. This ceremony terminates in a feaſt, and it is alſo cuſtomary to prick on the body of the child, the figure of the *Okki* or *Mannitou*, to whoſe protection he has been recommended. So ſolemn an engagement, the mark of which can never be eraſed, muſt needs, one would imagine, be moſt inviolable; tho' a very trifle, they ſay, is ſufficient to deſtroy it.

Genius changes.

The *Indians* are not eaſily induced to allow themſelves to be in the wrong, even in affairs in which the honour of their gods is concerned, and make no manner of difficulty of juſtifying themſelves at the expence of their divinities. Thus, on any fault committed, the blame is always thrown upon their tutelar genius, for which too they look out for ſome other without ceremony, which is done with the ſame precautions as at firſt. The women have alſo their *Manitous*, or *Okkis*, but are far from paying them the regard which the men ſhew them, becauſe perhaps they have not ſo much buſineſs for them. They offer up different ſorts of gifts, or, if you will, ſacrifices to theſe ſpirits. They throw into the lakes and rivers tobacco, or birds, firſt ſtrangled, in order to propitiate the gods of the waters. In honour of the ſun, and ſometimes of inferior divinities, they throw into the fire all manner of things uſeful in common life, and what they believe they derive from thoſe inferior beings. This is ſometimes done out of gratitude, and by way of acknowledgement, but oftner like ſome others, from views of intereſt. And even thoſe acknowledgements are made with an eye to ſome advantage, thoſe nations being entirely unacquainted with ſentiments of love towards their gods. We may obſerve alſo a ſort of libations amongſt the *Indians*, and all this accompanied with invocations, couched in very myſterious terms, which they have never been able to explain to the *Europeans*, whether it be that they have really and at bottom no meaning at all, or that the ſenſe has not been tranſmitted in the ſame tradition which conveyed the words; and perhaps they are willing we ſhould never comprehend the meaning of them at all.

Faſts.

Some pretend that their faſts have no other end beſides accuſtoming them to endure hunger; and probably this motive may have ſome influence on them. But every circumſtance with which they are accompanied leaves no room to doubt that religion is the chief thing regarded in them. We need nothing elſe to perſuade us of this, beſides their attention to obſerve their dreams at thoſe times, ſuch dreams being conſidered as ſo many oracles and revelations of the divine will.

Vows

Vows are alſo acts purely religious amongſt thoſe nations, in which their cuſtom correſponds exactly with thoſe of the other parts of the world. As, for inſtance, in a ſcarcity of proviſions, a circumſtance which often happens in their voyages and huntings, they vow to their genii to give to one of their chiefs in honour of them, a proportion of the firſt beaſt they ſhall kill, and oblige themſelves not to eat meat till they have performed their promiſe. If the thing becomes impoſſible, on account of the too great diſtance of the chief, they burn the part allotted for him, and thus it becomes a ſort of ſacrifice. Vows.

The *Indians*, in the neighbourhood of *Acadia*, had formerly, in a particular part of their country, which bordered on the ſea, a very old tree, of which they relate very wonderful things, and which was always loaden with offerings. The ſea having laid open all its roots, it ſupported itſelf a long time almoſt in the air, againſt the united violence of winds and waves, which confirmed the *Indians* in the notion of its being the reſidence of ſome great ſpirit; and even its fall was not capable of undeceiving them, for ſo long as the end of any branch of it was to be ſeen above water they ſtill continued the uſual offerings to it. Venerable tree.

Moſt part of their feaſts, ſongs, and dances, have alſo probably their origin in religion, of which they preſerve ſeveral traces, which has induced ſome, tho' upon very ſlight grounds, to believe the *Indians* deſcended from the antient *Hebrews*. There are in fact ſome of them who never uſe any knife in certain repaſts, and are very careful not to break the bones of the beaſts that are eaten on thoſe occaſions. Some think too their living apart from their women, in the time of certain diſorders peculiar to their ſex, and the ſound of a word often uſed in ſome of their ſongs which is the ſame, or very near it, with that of the *alleluja*, are ſo many arguments in favour of this pedigree. But it might, with equal reaſon, be alledged that, the cuſtom of piercing their ears and noſtrils is obſerved in compliance with the law of circumciſion, the uſe of which is known to be much more ancient than the promulgation of the law of *Mount Sinai*. The feaſt, on the return from the chace, in which nothing is to be left, has alſo been taken for a kind of holocauſte, or for one of the rites of the *Jewiſh* paſſover, and the rather, as it is uſual with the *Indians*, when they find themſelves unable to manage their ſhare, or portion, to make uſe of the ſtomachs of their neighbours, as the Jews did, in the caſe when a family was not ſufficient to conſume the whole paſchal lamb by themſelves. *Indians* deemed the offspring of the *Hebrews*.

An ancient miſſionary, who reſided for a long time among the *Outaouais*, writes, that an old man officiates as prieſt in the feſtivals of the *Indians* juſt now mentioned. He begins with offering them their thanks for the ſucceſs they have had in hunting, after which ſome other *Indian* takes a loaf of tobacco, breaks it in two, and then throws it into the fire. From hence, my author concludes, that thoſe who have cited this nation as a proof of the poſſibility of atheiſm, properly ſo called, are really ignorant of their manners and notions. They never indeed diſpute about religious matters, and their extreme indolence in this reſpect, by which I ſuppoſe he means their unwillingneſs to enter into ſuch diſcuſſions, is the greateſt obſtacle that has obſtructed their converſion to Chriſtianity. But it cannot, with any juſtice, be concluded from this circumſtance that they are void of all notions of a God. Indolence is ſaid to be their predominant inclination, which is even invincible in their moſt intereſting affairs, tho', in ſpite of this vice, and even of that ſpirit of independance, in which they have been educated, there is no nation that live in a ſtate of greater dread, confuſed as their notions are of the divinity, never aſcribing any thing to chance, and determining every thing by certain omens, which they look upon as ſo many warnings from heaven, and revelations of the divine will. Unjuſtly charged with atheiſm.

It has been affirmed by ſeveral writers, who have left memoirs of the natives of the continent of *North America*, that there were formerly amongſt them certain young women, living apart from all commerce and knowledge of man, and who never married. Theſe veſtals, ſay they, were held in great veneration, tho' the moſt antient miſſionaries take no notice of them. There have actually been amongſt the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*, and that not long ſince, certain recluſes, who preſerved their virginity. And thoſe *Indians*, to this day, ſhew you certain plants, which, according to them, have no manner of virtue or efficacy, unleſs employed by virgin hands. *Indian* veſtals.

The belief of the immortality of the ſoul is moſt firmly rooted amongſt the *Americans* of this part of the continent. They conceive of it however not as a ſubſtance purely *Indians* believe the ſo immortal.

purely ſpiritual, no more than their genii, being incapable of giving any clear and diſtinct notion of either. When they are aſked what they think of ſouls, they anſwer, that they are a kind of living ſhadows, and images of the body, and by conſequence derived from the ſame principle. They believe that every thing in the univerſe is animated and informed with a ſoul. It is therefore, from tradition only, they hold that the ſoul never dies. In the different ways of expreſſing themſelves on this head, they often confound the ſoul with its faculties, and the faculties with their operations, tho' they are not ignorant of the difference between them, when they pleaſe to expreſs themſelves with greater exactneſs.

Notions of ſeparate ſouls.

They are alſo of opinion that the ſoul preſerves the ſame inclinations after it has been ſeparated from the body, which it had before the ſeparation, for which reaſon, they bury with their dead every thing made uſe of by them when alive. They are alſo perſuaded that the ſouls hover about the carcaſe till the feaſt of the dead, after which, it goes into the country of ſouls, or tranſmigrates, according to ſome, into a turtle dove.

Two ſouls in one body.

Others of them acknowledge two different ſouls in man, to one they aſcribe all that has been juſt now mentioned, and pretend that the other never quits the body, except to inform or animate ſome other, tho' this, according to their ſyſtem, happens only to infants, who having enjoyed but a ſmall portion of human life, have leave granted them to begin a ſecond courſe of life. For this cauſe they bury children along their high ways, that the women may collect their ſouls as they paſs. Theſe ſouls, which are ſo very faithful companions to their bodies, are at the ſame time to be ſupported and fed, and it is to diſcharge this pious duty, that they carry victuals to their tomb; this practice, however, is of ſhort continuance, whence the ſouls are to accuſtom themſelves by degrees to longer faſts, ſince they often find it difficult enough to provide for the living, without ſupplying thoſe who have left their ſociety for that of the dead.

Preſents made to the dead.

There is one circumſtance which they never forget, even in the greateſt extremities. As it is uſual with us for the living to ſtrip the deceaſed of every thing, the *Indians*, on the contrary, not only carry every thing that belonged to them to their tombs, but preſents are alſo made them by their relations and friends. And this is the reaſon they were ſo much ſcandaliſed at the *French*, who opened their ſepulchers in order to rob the dead of their beaver robes. Tombs are held ſo ſacred in this country, that to prophane them is reckoned one of the greateſt acts of hoſtility that can be committed againſt any nation, and the moſt undoubted proof, that they are reſolved to obſerve no meaſures with them for the future.

Region of ſouls.

The region which, according to them, is to become the everlaſting abode of their ſouls, after ſeparation from their bodies, is ſituated at a great diſtance Weſtwards, ſo that their ſouls are ſeveral months on their journey thither. They have even ſurpriſing difficulties to ſurmount, and are expoſed to prodigious hazards, before they are able to reach it. They take notice above all of a certain great river they are to paſs, on which ſeveral have been ſhipwrecked; of a dog, from whom they have much ado to defend themſelves; of a place of ſuffering, that is their purgatory, where they expiate their faults; of a cave, in which the ſouls of thoſe priſoners of war who have been burnt are tormented, and where they arrive after making all poſſible delays.

Vain opinions and fables of the other world.

This notion is the cauſe why, after the death of thoſe unhappy perſons, they are very careful to ſearch every place, ſtriking inceſſantly with rods, and making at the ſame time hideous cries, to drive away their ſouls, which they are afraid would otherwiſe continue to hover about their cabins. The *Iroquois* ſay, that *Atabenſic* makes his ordinary abode in this *Tartarus*, where his conſtant employment is to ſeduce ſouls to their utter ruin: But that *Jouſkeka* leaves no ſtone unturned to fortify them againſt the wicked deſigns of his grandfather. Amongſt the fabulous ſtories of what paſſes in the other world, which are ſo like thoſe of *Homer* and *Virgil*, there is one ſeems copied from that of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, ſo much to the life that there needs nothing but changing the names to make it exactly the ſame.

Indian Paradice.

Moreover, the happineſs with which the *Indians* flatter themſelves in their elyſium, is not conſidered merely as the reward of a virtuous life; for to have been a good hunter, brave in war, happy in all undertakings, and to have killed and burned a great number of enemies, are the ſole titles they plead to be admitted into their paradiſe, the felicity of which conſiſts in an unexhauſtible plenty of game and fiſhing,

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an eternal ſpring, vaſt abundance of all things, without being obliged to work, and the full and moſt exquiſite gratification of all the ſenſes. Thus the foundations of every nation's belief, in regard to a future ſtate, are, we ſee, exactly the ſame, even of thoſe ſyſtems which are held moſt metaphyſical, propoſing all ſorts of happineſs of which we have any idea, or perhaps are capable, and that, without end, for the good; and, for the vicious, every thing that is the reverſe of this felicity. Nor is the obſervation of *Charlevoix* perfectly juſt in this place, where he ſays, that a virtuous life is not what gives a title to the *Indian* elyſium; by which, I ſuppoſe, he means the virtues of private life; for fiſhing and hunting are œconomical virtues in this country; and as for the merit drawn from the number of enemies killed, every body ſees the connection this has with the public good, and the defence and ſecurity of the community.

Objects of prayer.

Theſe temporal bleſſings are alſo the ſole object of their prayers. All their ſongs, which are originally their forms of prayer, turn only upon the good things of this world, there being no mention in them, no more than in their vows, of any thing relating to another.

Souls of brutes immortal.

The ſouls of beaſts have alſo a place in the lower, or rather in the Weſtern regions of the *Americans*, and are full as immortal as ours. They alſo allow them a kind of reaſon, and not only every ſpecies, but even every individual animal, has, according to them, its peculiar guardian ſpirit. In ſhort, they make no difference between the brutes and men, except in degree only, man being, according to them, no more than the king of animals, who have all the ſame faculties, though he poſſeſſes them in a ſuperior degree. They hold alſo, that there are in hell models of ſouls of all ſorts, though they trouble themſelves very little with diving further into thoſe matters, as well as with every other topic of pure ſpeculation.

Of the nature of dreams, according to the *Indians*.

As to dreams, they vary very much in their manner of explaining themſelves on this topic. Sometimes it is the reaſonable ſoul, which walks abroad, whilſt the ſenſitive ſoul continues to animate the body. Sometimes it is the familiar genius, who gives wholeſome advice with reſpect to what is to happen; now it is a viſit paid by the ſoul of the perſon of whom they are dreaming. But in whatever way the dream be conceived, it is always regarded as a thing ſacred, and as the means the gods moſt commonly uſe to make known their will to mankind. They cannot conceive it poſſible for the *Europeans* to make ſo light of them, and, for the moſt part, look upon dreams as the deſires of a ſoul inſpired by ſome ſpirit, or as an order from him. Hence they make it a religious duty to comply with it. Thus an *Indian* having dreamt of cutting off a finger, cauſed the ſame to be actually chopped off, after having prepared himſelf for this important action by a feaſt. Another ſeeing himſelf, in a dream, priſoner amongſt his enemies, was much perplexed; but, after conſulting the quacks, he was, by their advice, tied to a poſt, and burnt in ſeveral parts of the body.

The *Indians* have happy and unhappy dreams. To dream, for inſtance, of ſeeing a great number of elks, is a ſign of long life; but to dream of bears, is a ſign of dying ſoon, except when this happens, as has been ſaid, at the time when they are ſetting out to hunt thoſe animals.

To ſhew to what an extravagant degree they carry theſe ſuppoſitions, I ſhall lay before the reader a fact atteſted by irreproachable witneſſes, who were themſelves ſpectators of it.

Story of an hypochondriac *Indian*.

Two miſſionaries were on a journey with ſome *Indians*, and one night as all were aſleep, one of their guides ſtarted up, quite out of breath, and trembling with fear, making efforts to cry, and beating himſelf, as if poſſeſſed with a devil. Every body was ſoon awake with the noiſe; at firſt they believed the perſon ſeized with ſome frenzy; they laid hold of him, and tried every method that could be thought of to reduce him to a ſettled temper, but all to no purpoſe; the madneſs getting the better of him more and more, ſo that being unable to confine him, they were obliged to hide all arms from him for fear of ſome accident. Some time after this it was propoſed to give him a potion made with certain herbs of great virtue; but when they were leaſt aware of him, the patient leapt into the river. He was immediately drawn out, and tho' he could not conceal what he ſuffered from the cold, he could not be perſuaded to come near the fire, which was kindled on purpoſe, but ſat himſelf down at the foot of a tree, where, appearing ſomewhat calmer, they brought him ſome broth which they had prepared for him; he told them they muſt give it to

this child, by which they meant a bear's ſkin which they had ſtuffed with ſtraw; they complied with his requeſt, pouring the broth down the throat of that animal. Then they aſked him the occaſion of his diſtemper. "I dreamt, ſaid he, I had a ſcreech-owl in my belly." They all fell a laughing, but however the buſineſs was how to cure his diſordered imagination which was done in the following manner:

Method of cure. They pretended all of them to be afflicted with the ſame diſorder, and crying out as loud as they could, that they had each ſome animal in their belly, adding that they did not like throwing themſelves into the river to unhouſe the creature becauſe of the exceſſive cold; and that they thought ſweating much the better way of the two. The *Hypocondriac* reliſhing this propoſal, they immediately ſet about erecting a ſtove, which they all went into with loud cries, and afterwards fell every one to imitate the animal he pretended he had in his belly, one counterfeiting a gooſe, another a duck, this a buſtard, that a frog, and the dreamer his owl. But what was peculiarly diverting this farce was, that they all beat time on the back and ſhoulders of the patient, in order to weary him into a ſleep, tho' the ſame preſcription would keep any but an *Indian* from cloſing his eyes for ſeveral days to come. They ſucceeded however in their intention, the patient fell into a ſleep, which held him a conſiderable time, and when he awaked found himſelf perfectly cured, not perceiving the ſweat, which muſt certainly have exhauſted him, nor ſenſible of the blows and bruiſes he had received, having loſt all remembrance of the very dream which had coſt him ſo much terror and pain together.

Obligations of dreams. But not the dreamer alone is to diſcharge the obligations to which they imagine themſelves ſubjected by their means, and it would be highly criminal for any perſon conſulted by the patient in this caſe, to refuſe performing any thing he may require; a circumſtance, which, amongſt any other people than *Indians*, might have very troubleſome conſequences. But as they are perfectly free from views of intereſt, and are all equally ſubject to the ſame inconveniences, they abuſe this cuſtom leſs than any other ſort of men would probably do, where the ſame frets prevailed. If the thing required be of ſuch a nature as that it cannot be afforded by the perſon of whom it is demanded, the public takes the burden on itſelf; and if it ſhould be neceſſary to go five hundred leagues to find it; and let it coſt what it will, it muſt at all events be had. This boon is preſerved with the utmoſt care, and if it be an inanimate thing, their anxiety about it is but moderate, but if it be ſome animal, the death of it fills them with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions.

Difficult caſe. Should an *Indian* dream of killing another, the affair becomes ſtill more ſerious, for he will certainly in that caſe be the death of him, if he can accompliſh it by any means whatever. But wo to the dreamer, ſhould any other take it into his head to dream that he revenges the deceaſed. With a little precaution, however, one is eaſily extricated from this embarraſsment, and a dream which ſeems to oppoſe and contradict the firſt is all that is requiſite for the purpoſe. In this caſe he whoſe dream is prior, ſays, "I ſee and am ſatisfied, that your ſpirit (or familiar) is much ſuperior in ſtrength to mine, for which cauſe we will inſiſt on it no longer." Some indeed are more difficult to be ſatisfied on this head, but there are very few who may not be contented, and their genii appeaſed by ſome preſent.

Mad feaſt of dreams. Whether religion was ever concerned in the feſtival called *the feaſt of dreams*, or, which the *Iroquois*, and ſome other nations, have much better termed *the feaſt of the turning of the brain*, cannot eaſily be aſcertained. This is a kind of Bacchanalian feſtival, which laſts generally fifteen days, and is celebrated towards the end of winter. There is no ſort of folly which is not committed on thoſe occaſions, every one running from cabin to cabin, diſguiſed in a thouſand ridiculous manners: They break and throw down every thing, and no body dares to hinder them. If any perſon be deſirous of ſhunning this confuſion, and to get out of the reach of a thouſand affronts, which muſt otherwiſe be endured, there is no way left for him but to deſert the village for a time. On meeting any perſon, the firſt greeting is to give him ſome dream to interpret, and if he can unravel it, it is to his coſt, for he is to give the dreamer the ſubject of his dream. On the concluſion of the maſquerade, every thing is reſtored, a great feaſt is made, and every one thinks how the ſad effects of their madneſs may be repaired; and this is often attended with no ſmall inconveniencies, or rather miſchiefs, as time and occaſion, which was longed for in ſilence, in order

to

to have amends of thoſe who might have given them an abuſe, now offer themſelves; but all is to be forgotten as ſoon as the feaſt is over.

The deſcription of one of theſe feaſts, from the memoirs of a miſſionary who was preſent at it fore againſt his will, is as follows: It was held at *Onnontagué*, and proclaimed by the ſenators, or elders, with the ſame ſolemnity as if it had been an affair relating to the ſtate. Scarce had they returned to their different places of abode, when, all of a ſudden, men, women, and children turned out naked, notwithſtanding the extreme cold. At firſt they viſited every cabin, after which they ſtrolled about from place to place, without knowing whither they went, or what they wanted, and a ſpectator would have concluded them perſons tranſported beſides themſelves with drunkenneſs or madneſs. Some confined their extravagance within more moderate bounds; but others were for making uſe of all the indulgencies of this carnival, during which they are reputed *non compos*, and, by a fundamental maxim in the *Indian* laws, deemed not reſponſable for their actions, and at full freedom to revenge their private grudges. On ſome they threw buckets of water, which freezing inſtantaneouſly with the intenſe cold, ſtruck to the very heart of thoſe on whom it was thrown; others they ſaluted with volleys of hot embers, and filth of all kinds; ſome diſcharged firebrands at the head of the firſt perſon they met; and others again broke and demoliſhed all the furniture of the cabins, and falling upon thoſe to whom they bore any ill will, loaded them with blows. In ſhort, there was no deliverance from this ſort of perſecution, but by interpreting their dreams, which were abſurd and inconceivable to the laſt degree. Deſcribed.

The miſſionary and his companion were upon the point of being ſomething more than mere ſpectators of what paſſed. One of theſe furies entering a cabin, in which they had ſeen them take ſanctuary, at the beginning of the hubbub, and had juſt left, and not finding them there, cried out to explain his dream, and, upon heſitation, ſaid he would kill a *Frenchman*, when immediately the maſter of the hut threw a ſuit of *French* cloathes upon the floor, which the dreamer again and again ran through with a ſword. Upon this, he who had thrown down the cloathes, falling into a fit of tranſport in his turn, ſaid he was for revenging the *Frenchman*, and that he was going to reduce the whole village to aſhes. He began by actually ſetting fire to his own cabin, in which this ſcene happened, and where, after every body had left it, he ſhut himſelf up. The fire was already kindled in ſeveral places within, but did not as yet diſcover itſelf without, when one of the miſſionaries returning, and being told what had been done by his landlord, made what haſte he could to break open the door, ſeized the *Indian*, whom he thruſt out, extinguiſhed the fire, and ſhut himſelf up in the cabin. His hoſt, in the mean time, ran over the whole village, crying out that he would ſet fire to every thing; upon which they threw out a dog to him, in hopes he would glut his vengeance on that animal; but he inſiſted, that the offering was not ſufficient to expiate the death of his gueſt, who had been murdered in his houſe. Then they threw him a ſecond dog, which he tore to pieces, and then all his rage ſubſided, and he recovered his former tranquility. Mad pranks of dreamers

This *Indian* had a brother, who was alſo willing to bear his part in the play. He dreſſed himſelf in much the ſame manner as we repreſent the Satyrs, covering himſelf from head to foot with the leaves of maiz. He cauſed two women to be attired like *Megeras*, or Furies, their faces blacked, their hair diſhevelled, with a wolf's ſkin over their bodies, and bills in their hands. Thus eſcorted, he viſited all the cabins, howling and ſhouting with all his might, climbing on the roofs, and playing a thouſand antics, with an agility equal to that of the moſt famous rope-dancer; then making hideous cries, as if ſome vaſt misfortune had befallen him, he at laſt deſcended, and walking with a ſolemn pace, preceded by his two Bacchanalians, who becoming tranſported in their turns, overturned with their bills every thing that came in their way. They were ſcarce recovered from their trance, when another woman took their place, and entering the hut where ſat the two Jeſuits, armed with a muſquet ſhe had got by cauſing ſome perſon to expound her dream, ſung the war-ſong, making a thouſand imprecations upon herſelf, if ſhe did not bring home priſoners. Bacchanalian women.

A warrior followed cloſe after this Amazon, with a bow and arrow in one hand, and a bayonet in the other. After he had made himſelf hoarſe with hallooing, he fell, all of a ſudden, on a woman, who little thought of any ſuch attack, and Other ſcenes of diſtraction and folly

holding his bayonet to her throat, and twiſting his hands in her hair, cut off one of her hands, and went his way. One of the jongleurs then made his appearance, bearing in his hand a ſtaff adorned with feathers, by means of which, he boaſted, he could divine the moſt hidden ſecrets. An *Indian* woman attended this perſonage, holding a vaſe full of a certain liquor, of which ſhe now and then gave the quack to drink. He no ſooner taſted of it, than he ſpit it out, blowing on his hands and ſtaff, and at each time he explained ſuch riddles as were propoſed to him. Two women followed, indicating, that they wanted ſomething. One ſpread a matraſs, or covering, by which it was conjectured, that ſhe aſked for fiſh, which were accordingly given her. The other having a hoe in her hand, they concluded ſhe wanted a field to cultivate; ſhe was therefore immediately led out of the village, and ſet to work with her hoe. A chief had dreamt, it ſeems, of ſeeing two human hearts; his dream was difficult to interpret, and this cauſed a general uneaſineſs. He made a great deal of noiſe; the feaſt was therefore prolonged for another day, but all to no purpoſe, and it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould be appeaſed. Sometimes were ſeen bands of armed men, who threatened to come to blows; at others, troops of buffoons, playing all manner of farces. This madneſs laſted for four days, the games being reduced to this length from the accuſtomed time of fifteen, probably out of reſpect to the Jeſuits, towards whom they carried their complaiſance ſo far as not to moleſt them, nor the Chriſtian *Indians*, in the exerciſe of their functions and religious duties.

Witchcraft in abhorrence.

The *Indians* have recourſe to none but the good genii; the wizards only, and thoſe who are addicted to witchcraft, are thought to be in compact with the evil genii; and the women are chiefly ſuſpected of following this abominable practice. Their jongleurs, or prieſts, who are alſo their phyſicians, not only refrain from it, at leaſt openly, but make it a particular part of their profeſſion to qualify themſelves for diſcovering witchcraft, and preventing its pernicious effects. All that is related to this purpoſe is mere quackery; for ſometimes they make uſe of the venom which they extract from ſerpents; ſometimes of herbs gathered in certain ſeaſons, and whilſt they are muttering ſome particular words; or, laſtly, of certain animals, which they ſtrangle, and of which they throw ſome parts into the fire.

Practices of the jongleurs.

Indians in dread of magic.

Amongſt the *Illinois*, and ſome other nations, they make an odd kind of human figure, to repreſent ſuch perſons as they intend to deſtroy, and which they pierce to the heart. Sometimes they take a ſtone, and, by virtue of certain incantations, pretend to form ſuch another in the hearts of their enemies. The *Indians* have ſuch dreadful apprehenſions of magic, that the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of practiſing it expoſes one to be torn to pieces; and yet we find every where perſons who follow this dangerous employment.

Pretenſions of the jongleurs.

The quacks of *Canada* make profeſſion of correſponding with the genii which they call *beneficent*, and pretend to know, by their means, what paſſes in the moſt remote regions, as well as what is to happen in the moſt diſtant futurity; that they can diſcover the cauſe and nature of the moſt hidden or complicated diſtempers, with their method of cure; determine what is to be done in the moſt difficult and perplexing affairs; explain the moſt obſcure dreams; procure ſucceſs in the moſt difficult undertakings and negociations; and, laſtly, render the gods propitious to their hunters and warriors. They are even ſaid to perform things capable of impoſing on more than the multitude; and when they ſhut themſelves up in their ſtoves, in order to raiſe a ſweat, one of their moſt ordinary preparatives, they reſemble exactly what we read in the poets of the ancient *Pithias*, (*Prieſteſſes of Apollo*) on the tripod, entering into all their convulſions and enthuſiaſm, with the ſame tone of voice, and performing actions ſeemingly beyond human power, and inſpiring the ſpectators with an awe and terror which they cannot reſiſt. Theſe jongleurs are alſo the only perſons to whom it is lawful to conjure or raiſe up ſpirits on occaſion of public tranſactions.

Enthuſiaſts.

Preparation, initiation, and employment.

Theſe quacks are not permitted to exerciſe their profeſſion, till they have firſt entered into a ſort of treaty, or compact, with the genii, for which they qualify themſelves by long and rigorous faſting, during which they are continually weeping, ſmoking, howling, ſinging, and beating the drum. This initiation is afterwards performed in a ſort of Bacchanal, with extravagant ceremonies, and a ſtrange enthuſiaſm. Their office is reſtrained to prophecying, or interpreting the wills of the gods, the chiefs being their ſole prieſts, who offer ſacrifices to the gods in all public ceremonies, and the maſters of families in domeſtic worſhip. The chief, or at leaſt moſt profitable employment

employment of their quacks is that of phyſic, the principles of which are founded on the knowledge of ſimples, on experience, and on the different ſituations of the patient, but always with a conſiderable mixture of quackery and ſuperſtition, at the expence of the vulgar.

Their practice of ſurgery

The chief uſe they make of ſimples is in wound fractures, diſlocations, luxations, and ruptures. They blame large inciſions, and ſuck not only the pus, but even ſplinters, ſtones, iron, and all other noxious matter from wounds, by a mixture of the juice of different plants, which is alſo the diet of the patient, till the wound is cured; and he who probes it, ſwallows ſome of it before he proceeds to ſuck the wound, when there is a neceſſity for this method; but this is ſeldom done, the moſt common way being to inject the juice into the wound with a ſyringe. They are allowed, however, to have excellent remedies, and very valuable ſecrets, for the cure of certain diſtempers, and particularly for the palſy, dropſy, and venereal diſeaſe.

Different treatment of dying perſons

In ſome countries, as ſoon as the ſick perſon is given over, the way is to diſpatch him, that he may not languiſh. In the canton of *Onnontagué* they bury children unweaned with their mothers, from a perſuaſion, that no other women could bring them up. And ſome nations, when their ſick are in a deſperate ſtate, are ſaid to leave them to die of hunger and thirſt. Others, we are told, ſhut the eyes and mouth of the dying perſon, that they may not ſee the diſtortions of their features in their laſt agonies.

Behaviour in the laſt moments.

When the ſick perſon finds himſelf going the way of all fleſh, he aſſumes a ſtoical heroiſm, and beholds himſelf on the point of ſeparation from thoſe who are deareſt to him without the leaſt emotion. As ſoon as the ſentence of death is pronounced by the mouth of the quack, he makes an effort to harangue the by-ſtanders; and, if he happens to be the head of a family, he makes a ſort of funeral ſermon on himſelf before-hand, which he cloſes with his beſt counſel to his children; then, after taking leave of all the people, he orders a feaſt to be given, in which all the proviſions in the houſe are to be ſerved up, when he receives the preſents of his family. In the mean time, they cut the throats of all the dogs they can find, that their ſouls may carry the news to the nether world, that ſuch an one is juſt upon ſetting out for thoſe regions, all the carcaſes being thrown into the chaldron, to increaſe the repaſt. The feaſt being ended, the tears begin to flow, which are afterwards interrupted to bid the laſt farewel to the ſick man, to wiſh him a happy voyage, to comfort him for the loſs of his friends and relations, and, laſtly, to aſſure him that his children will ſupport the glory of his great actions.

Indians undaunted at death.

The cool blood with which they face the king of terrors is perfectly admirable, no *Indian* having ever been alarmed to hear that he had only a few hours to live. Nothing is to be ſeen but dancing, ſinging, invocations of the genii, feaſts which are preſcribed by the phyſicians, and remedies, according to our way of thinking in *Europe*, more likely to finiſh than cure a ſick perſon, who, if he happens to recover, aſcribes all the honour to the ſpirits.

Their reſpect to the dead

Their generoſity and affection towards the dead are no leſs wonderful. Here you will ſee mothers preſerve the bodies of their children for whole years, without being able to ſtir from them, and others drawing the milk from their breaſts, and ſhedding it upon the tombs of their infants. In caſe of a fire in any village, where there are dead bodies, they are always the firſt object of their care. They even ſtrip themſelves of their richeſt garments to cloathe the dead, uncovering their tombs, from time to time, to renew their cloathes, and depriving themſelves of their neceſſary food, to lay it on their ſepulchres, and in places where they imagine their ſouls are to haunt. In ſhort, the expence they are at for their dead far exceeds what is beſtowed on the living.

Honours paid to the deceaſed

The ſick man has no ſooner yielded up the ghoſt, than nothing is to be heard but wailings, which laſt as long as their family are in a condition to uphold the expence of it, for they are obliged to keep open table all the time. The corps of the deceaſed is expoſed at the door of the cabin, attired in his richeſt robe, his viſage painted, his arms and all his equipage by his ſide, and in the poſture he is to be in when laid in the tomb, which is, according to ſome, the ſame with that of a child in the womb. There are women hired, whoſe buſineſs it is to lament the deceaſed, who are ſaid to be very expert in their profeſſion, ſinging, weeping, and dancing continually, but ſo as not to leſſen the ſorrow of the relations, which is real and unfeigned. After the interment, which is in a ſort of cell, hung with furs inſtead of tapeſtry, and

much neater than any cabin, they erect a pillar, or pile, on the tomb, on which is hung every thing they conceive capable of doing honour to the deceaſed. Sometimes too they affix his portrait, with a ſort of baſſo relievo, informing the paſſenger who lies interred there, with the particulars of his life moſt to his advantage. Thither they bring freſh freſh proviſion every morning, and if any animal eat of it, they believe it to be the ſoul of the dead, who appears in that ſhape. The interment is followed by making preſents to the family, in the name of the village, and ſometimes of the whole nation; even the allies ſend their quota when the deceaſed happens to be of diſtinguiſhed rank. But before this the family give a repaſt in the name of the defunct, accompanied with games, and prizes for ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves in them. Theſe games are a kind of juſts, or tournaments, races, and ſhooting at a mark, the whole ending with ſongs and cries of victory.

Mourning of the family.

The family of the deceaſed bear no part in the diverſions, and are obliged henceforth to obſerve a ſort of mourning, which is very ſevere. It conſiſts in cutting off their hair, blacking their faces, and keeping themſelves ſtanding, with their heads wrapt in a covering. At the ſame time, they are to look at no perſon, make no viſits, eat nothing hot, abſtain from all manner of pleaſures, wear no cloaths, and never to warm themſelves by the fire, even in the midſt of winter. After this mourning, which laſts for two years, there is a ſecond, leſs irkſome, which laſts two or three years more, and is alſo capable of a little relaxation. But no abatement is to be made without the conſent of the cabin to which the widow or widower belongs, and ſuch indulgences are never obtained without the charge of a feaſt.

Singular notion of the *Indians*.

The *Indians* have a very ſingular notion, that ſuch perſons as die a violent death, though in the ſervice of their country, have no communication with the reſt in the other world, for which cauſe, they burn or bury them the moment they expire, and ſometimes even before, never laying their bodies with thoſe of their other dead, nor allowing them any ſhare in their great ceremony, which is renewed every eighth year amongſt ſome nations, and every tenth amongſt the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*.

Feaſt of the dead.

This is called the feaſt of the dead, or of ſouls, and is by far the moſt celebrated and ſolemn act of religion known amongſt thoſe nations. The firſt thing is to fix the place of aſſembly, and then to chooſe the king of the feaſt, who is to preſide in it, and to invite the neighbouring villages. The day appointed being come, they meet together, and march in proceſſion, two and two, to the burying-place, where, after digging up the dead bodies, they remain ſome time in dumb contemplation. The women are at firſt to break in upon this religious ſilence, raiſing moſt lamentable cries, which augments the horror of the ſpectacle. This firſt act over, they take the carcaſſes and gathering together the ſcattered and looſe bones, lay them on the ſhoulders of thoſe appointed to carry them, taking care to waſh and cut off the rotten parts and other impurities, from ſuch bodies as are not intirely putrified, wrapping the other remains in new robes of beaver. They return to the village in the ſame order they came out, where every one depoſits his load in his own cabin. During the march, the women continue their wailings, the men diſcovering the ſame marks of ſadneſs, as on the day of the death of the perſon, whoſe remains they are carrying. This is followed by a feaſt in every cabin, in honour of their dead. The next day is allotted for public feaſting, accompanied as on the day of interment, with dancing, games, and combats, for which there are alſo prizes propoſed. From time to time, they utter certain cries, called the Cries of Souls, giving and receiving preſents of the ſtrangers preſent, ſome of whom come from a great diſtance. On theſe occaſions they treat alſo of other affairs, and ſometimes elect their chiefs at theſe meetings. All this is performed with remarkable decency, order, and modeſty, every one appearing filled with ſentiments proper for the occaſion, the very ſongs and dances inſpiring a certain ſadneſs, and the whole ſpectacle being capable of filling the moſt inſenſible hearts with ſorrow.

The laſt funeral proceſſion and interment.

Some days after they repair in proceſſion to the great council-room prepared on purpoſe, where they hang up the bones and carcaſſes againſt the walls, in the ſame order as when taken from the burying place, and where they expoſe to public view the preſents deſtined for the dead. And if, amongſt all thoſe ſad remains, there happen to be thoſe of a chief, his ſucceſſor gives a great repaſt in his name, and ſings his ſong. In ſeveral places the carcaſſes are carried from canton to canton, and every where received with great demonſtrations of the moſt lively ſorrow, always accompanied with preſents.

preſents. At laſt they carry the relics of mortality to the place where they are to remain for ever. All theſe proceſſions move along to the ſound of inſtruments, accompanied with the fineſt voices, the attendants all obſerving juſt time and meaſure in every ſtep. This laſt and general burying-place is a large vault, lined with the fineſt furs, and every other valuable thing. The preſents for the dead are placed apart, and the families in the ſame order as the proceſſion arrives take their places on a ſort of ſcaffolding erected round the vault; the moment the corps are depoſited the women ſet up a freſh wailing and weeping; then all the attendants deſcend into the vault, and every one takes a ſmall quantity of its earth, which is preſerved with great care, as ſuppoſed to have a virtue of procuring good luck at play. The bodies and bones being laid in order, covered with new furs, overſpread with the bark of trees, on which are laid, ſtones, wood, and laſtly earth, every one returns to his own home, only the women continue for ſome time to viſit this mauſoleum of the nation, watering it with their tears.

Dreſs of *Indians*.

There is no difference in the dreſs of the *Indian* nations, in the hot ſeaſon, their ſole garment, at ſuch times, being generally a ſort of frock, or banyan. In the winter they wear more or fewer clothes in proportion to the climate. They wear on the feet a kind of ſocks, made of doe-ſkin dried in the ſmoke; for ſtockings they wear alſo ſkins, or pieces of ſtuff, wrapt round their legs. A waiſtcoat of ſkin covers their bodies down to their middle, and above that they wear a ſort of cloak when they can afford it, if not, they make themſelves a robe of bear-ſkins, or of ſeveral ſkins of beavers or otters, or ſuch like furs, with the hairy ſide inwards. The tunics, or veſts, of the women reach below the knees, and in cold weather, or when they are on a voyage or journey, they wrap their heads in their mantle or robe. Some wear ſmall bonnets, and others a capuchin joined to their veſts. They have alſo a piece of ſtuff or ſkin, which ſerves them inſtead of boddice, and covers them from the waiſt down to the mid-leg. They are vaſtly fond of white ſhirts, which they wear over their veſts till they are foul, and then only next their ſkin, where it remains till it falls off with rottenneſs. Their tunics of ſkin are generally prepared in the ſmoke like their ſocks, which is done by firſt ſuffering them to be thoroughly ſeaſoned with the ſmoke, and afterwards rubbing them, when they waſh like linnen. They are alſo dreſſed by ſteeping them in water, and then rubbing them till they grow dry and ſupple; they are, however, much fonder of our ſhirts.

Painting of their bodies.

Many of them, as the *Picts* did formerly, paint, or prick their bodies all over, others in ſome parts only. This practice is not only for ornaments ſake, but is alſo a very good defence againſt the cold, and the biting of the gnats. In *Canada*, however, thoſe who live near the *Britiſh* ſettlement, inſtead of painting their bodies all over, are content with making the figures of certain birds, or ſerpents, or other animals, and ſometimes of leaves, and ſuch like, without any order or proportion, ſometimes on the face, and ſometimes on the eye-lids only, each according to his particular fancy; and many women paint their cheeks over the jaws, as a preſervative from the tooth-ach.

How performed, and its effects.

This operation, which is not very painful, is performed in this manner. They begin by tracing the coutour of the figure they intend on the ſkin, ſtretching it well at the ſame time; then with the bones of the fins of fiſhes, or with needles, they prick it in lines till the blood comes; and, laſtly, they rub it with charcoal and other colours pounded very fine. Theſe powders inſinuate themſelves into the ſkin, and can never be extracted. The ſkin afterwards ſwells, becomes inflamed with an itching, and if a fever happens, which is common enough in hot weather, when the operation is carried too far, they are ſometimes in great danger of their lives.

Its uſe and end.

The colours with which they paint their faces are ſaid to produce the ſame advantages in reſpect to the cold, and are no leſs ornamental than the puncture. This operation is performed by the warriors on ſetting out for the campaign, to ſtrike terror into the enemy; and by the youth, to give themſelves the ſame air with the veterans, as well as to heighten the charms of their faces; in which laſt caſe the colours are more vivid, and in greater variety. The priſoners who are to die are alſo puniſhed in this manner, probably, like the antients, to adorn thoſe victims of the god of war. Laſtly, they paint the dead, in order to do honour to them, when they expoſe them cloathed in their beſt robes.

Colours and ornamental dreſs.

The colours uſed on thoſe occaſions, are the ſame they employ in dreſſing their ſkins, being either extracted from the bark of certain trees, or from earths of various ſorts, which if not lively are at leaſt extremely durable. The men add to theſe ornaments down of ſwans or other birds, with which they powder their hair after it has been anointed with fat. To theſe they add feathers of various colours, and tufts of the hair of different animals, all arranged in a very fantaſtical manner. The diſpoſition of the hair, ſometimes briſtling on one ſide, and ſmooth and flattened on the other, and frizzled in twenty different manners equally extravagant; pendants in their ears, and ſometimes in their noſtrils; a great ſhell of porcelain, or, as they call it, wampum, at their neck or breaſt; crowns of rare and curious feathers, with the claws, talons, feet, beaks, and heads, of birds of prey; with the antlers of ſtags, are ſo many parts of the *Indian* dreſs, and the furniture of their wardrobes, the moſt precious and magnificent part of which is employed in adorning the unhappy captives when led to execution, or on their firſt entring the village of the conquerors. It is obſervable that the dreſs of the men is for the moſt part confined to their heads.

Ornamental dreſs of women.

It is quite the reverſe with that of the women, who beſtow on their heads hardly any ornament at all, being extremely jealous of the beauty of their hair, and deeming it an intolerable diſgrace to have it clipped. Thus on the death of a relation, the greateſt mark of ſorrow they can ſhew, is to cut off part of their hair in token of honour to the deceaſed. To preſerve its charms, they frequently anoint it with fat, and powder it with the bark of the ſpruce-fir pulveriſed, and ſometimes with vermilion, wrapping it afterwards in an elk's or ſerpent's ſkin, and forming it into treſſes, which hang down to their middle. The ornaments of the face conſiſt in drawing ſome lines on them with vermilion or ſome other colour. They never pierce their noſtrils, and it is only cuſtomary with certain nations to pierce their ears. When this is the caſe, they inſert into them or hang beads of wampum at them, like the men. When they have a mind to be very fine, they dreſs themſelves in robes with all ſorts of figures painted on them, with ſmall collars or belts of wampum faſtened to them, at random, without order or ſymmetry, and a kind of border worked tolerably neat with hair of porcupines, which they alſo paint with different colours. They adorn in the ſame manner their childrens cradles, which they load with all manner of gew-gaws.

Indian huſbandry the employment of the women.

Beſides the care of the houſhould affairs, and the providing wood for fuel, the huſbandry falls almoſt entirely to the ſhare of the women. As ſoon as the ſnows are melted, and the waters ſufficiently drained off the lands, they begin to prepare the ground, by burning the ſtubble of the maiz, or *Turky* corn, and other herbage, which has remained ſince the laſt crop, and then till it with a crooked piece of wood which has a very long handle. Beſides the nature of the corn that the *Indians* cultivate, which is all ſummer corn, the particular nature of the ſoil will not permit their ſowing any thing before winter; though the true reaſon ſeems to be that their corn will never ſprout if ſown in autumn, becauſe the winter would kill it, or it would rot on the melting of the ſnows. And it is alſo conjectured that the wheat of *Canada*, though brought originally from *Old France*, may have acquired the ſame quality of ſummer corn, which has not ſtrength like that of *Europe*, to ſprout ſeveral times when ſown in the months of *September* and *October*.

Beans, pompions, melons &c.

Beans, or what the *French* call *fevetoles*, [a ſmall round bean] is a favourite article in the *Indian* huſbandry, the ſtem of which ſerves to ſupport them, and is exactly the ſame with thoſe of *France*. They make no uſe of peaſe, though they thrive much better in *Canada* than in *Europe*. *Tourn-ſols*, or ſun-flowers, water-melons, and pompions, areplanted apart, and, before tranſplanting, are nurſed for ſome time in a kind of hotbed, made of a light and black mould.

Culture of maiz.

In the Northern quarter, they ſow but little, and in ſome parts none at all, and what maiz they uſe, they get by bartering for it with other commodities. This kind of pulſe is very wholeſome, light, and nouriſhing, though ſome are of opinion, that the liquor in which it is boiled, at leaſt what the *French* uſe, gives it a corroſive quality, the effects of which are found in time. When the maiz is in the ear and green, ſome roaſt it on the grid-iron, when it is very pleaſant to the palate; the *Canadians* call it *Bled Groulé* [huſky corn]. There is a particular kind of it which opens as ſoon, laid on the fire, called *Bled fleuri* [blown corn] and is very delicious. This is preſented to perſons of diſtinction on their arrival in any village, with much the

the ſame intention and formalities as when they preſent them with the freedom of a town in *Europe*.

Of this vegetable is made what they call ſagamité, the favourite food of the *Indians* of *Canada*. This is prepared by firſt roaſting the maiz, then beating it and peeling off the huſks, after which it is boiled, and makes a taſteleſs kind of broth, when there is no meat boiled with it, or ſome plums to give it a reliſh. It is ſometimes made into flower, called *farine froid* [taſteleſs meal] in theſe parts, and is the beſt and moſt commodious proviſion for thoſe who undertake long journeys or voyages; thoſe who travel on foot carry no other. Maiz is alſo boiled in the huſk when it is yet green and tender, then, after roaſting it a little, they peel off the huſks and dry it it in the ſun; thus prepared it will keep a long time, and the ſagamité made of it has an excellent reliſh. Sagamite, an *Indian* food

The *Indian* women make a kind of bread of maiz, which though it be nothing but a lump of ill-kneaded and unleavened dough, and roaſted under the embers, yet is reckoned a delicacy amongſt theſe people, and as ſuch is preſented to their friends; but it is to be eaten hot, and will not keep cold. Sometimes they mix with it beans, different ſorts of fruit, oil, and, what they love moſt of any thing, fat. Bread of maiz.

The *tourn-ſols*, or ſun-flowers, ſerve only to produce an oil with which the *Indians* rub themſelves. This oil is oftner extracted from the ſeed, than from the roots of this plant, which are ſomewhat different from our Jeruſalem artichokes. Oil of Tournſol.

The conſtant uſe which all the *Indians* of *Canada* make of a ſort of tobacco, that grows naturally all over the country, has given riſe to a belief that theſe people ſwallowed the ſmoke of it, and lived upon it; a miſtake owing to their long faſtings. They prefer, however, the tobacco which the *French* and *Engliſh* cultivate to their own, and *Canada*, by a proper choice of ſoil, is capable, as I am informed, of producing it in great perfection. Tobacco of *Canada*.

From what has been ſaid of the food of the *Indians*, it is eaſy to gueſs they are far from being delicate in this particular. Fat, or greaſe, is their chief delicacy, and the principal ragout in all their feaſts, when they can get it. And ſome pounds of candles, in a chaldron of ſagamité are, in their opinion, a vaſt improvement of the charms of this diſh. *Indians* lovers of fat.

The utenſils of the kitchen among the Southern nations were only of earthen ware; in the Northern parts they make uſe of wooden kettles, which they cauſed to boil by putting red-hot ſtones in the water. Both however now uſe iron pots, which is one of the beſt articles you can bring to trade with them. Culinary utenſils.

Amongſt the Weſtern nations wild oats ſupply the place of maiz, and are equally wholeſome, and, if leſs nouriſhing, the buffalo hunting, which is plentiful in theſe parts, more than compenſates that defect. Wild oats, food.

Amongſt the wandering *Indians*, who cultivate no land, under a ſcarcity of fiſh and game, their whole reſource is a ſort of moſs which grows on certain rocks, extremely inſipid, and far from being nouriſhing, but juſt ſufficient to keep them alive. Moſs eaten.

What is more ſtrange, we are aſſured by perſons worthy of credit, that the *Indians* are peculiarly fond of maiz laid to rot like hemp in ſtanding water, where it becomes black and ſtinking; and that they will not ſo much as loſe one drop of the water, or ſlime, which drops from it, though the very ſmell of it be ſufficient to turn an ordinary ſtomach. Maiz macerated, a delicacy

The leſſer employments of the *Indian* women, which commonly take up their attention within doors, are making a ſort of thread of the inner membranes of the bark of a tree called white wood, which is dreſſed much like hemp with us. The women alſo dye their ſtuffs and other things, and make ſeveral other works of the bark of trees, as well as ſeveral pieces of embroidery with the hair of the porcupine, beſides cups and other utenſils in wood; they alſo paint and embroider their deer-ſkins, and work belts and garters of the wool of buffaloes. Domeſtic employment of women.

The men, on the contrary, ſeem to glory in their idleneſs, paſſing more than half their time without any employment whatſoever, from a perſuaſion that conſtant labour degrades a man, and is properly the province of the women. It is His buſineſs, ſay they, to fiſh, hunt, and go to war. It belongs to them alſo to prepare all the neceſſary utenſils for thoſe exerciſes; ſuch as arms, nets, all the hunting equipage, together with their fiſhing-tackle, their canoes with their furniture, ſnow-ſhoes, Employments of men.

ſhoes, and the building and repairing of the cabins. They are often indeed aſſiſted by the women, who in like manner, tho' in their country affairs they commonly help one another, yet in reaping time, have ſometimes recourſe to the men, who never ſcruple lending a hand.

Indian harveſt and barns. The harveſt ends with a feſtival and a repaſt, which laſts a whole night, the corn and other fruits being laid up in their proper repoſitories, which are holes dug in the earth, and lined with large pieces of the bark of trees. Many of them make the ſame place a barn for the maiz in the ear, which they make into bunches like onions with us, and ſometimes ſpread them on long poles over the entry of cabins; others chuſe to threſh out the grain, and lay it up in large baſkets made of bark, bored on every ſide, to preſerve it from heating. But when they are afraid of an irruption of the enemy, or determined to be long abſent from home, they ſecrete it under ground, in large quantities, where it keeps perfectly well. The Chriſtian *Indians* are indeed a little more induſtrious, but one may eaſily diſcover by the air of penitence, which appears in their faces, that they work againſt the grain, and from a force put upon nature.

Indian carpentry. The *Indians* were formerly at a loſs in the felling of their timber, which they did generally by ſetting fire to the roots of trees; and to cleave or cut it, they made uſe of hatchets made of flints, which were not eaſily broke, though it coſt them a great deal of time to grind them down to an edge. To make a handle to them, they cleft the head of ſome ſapling, as if to graft upon it, and inſerted into the fiſſure the head of the hatchet: Hence when the tree came to grow about the head, it was ſo firmly fixed, as to be perfectly immoveable. Then they had no more to do but to cut the tree to the length required, and the inſtrument was quite finiſhed, and ready to be uſed out of hand.

Indian architecture. The *Indian* villages were formerly of a round figure; at preſent they are no more than a confuſed number of huts of bark, ſupported by poſts, and varying much in their form, and, in ſhort, built with much leſs art, neatneſs, and ſolidity, than the cabins of the beavers. The *Indian* cabins or houſes are from fifteen to twenty feet broad, and ſometimes an hundred long, in which caſe they have ſeveral fires, thirty feet being the ſpace allotted for each fire. When the floor is incapable of containing all the inhabitants, the young folks lie upon a ſort of bulk or ſtall, carried quite round the cabin, about five foot from the ground; and over this bulk are the moveables and proviſions, laid upon boards placed acroſs next the roof. Before the cabin is commonly a kind of porch, or lobby, where the young people ſleep in the ſummer, and which ſerves alſo for a woodhouſe in the winter. The doors are pieces of bark, hung like window curtains, and never ſhut cloſe. Theſe palaces have neither chimney, nor windows, but only an opening in the middle of the roof, by which part of the ſmoke gets vent. This hole however they are obliged to ſhut, when it either rains or ſnows, and then, too, they are forced to put out the fire, or be choaked with the ſmoke.

Fortification. The *Indians* underſtand military better than civil architecture, their villages being encloſed with a good paliſſade and redoubts, where they always take care to lay up good ſtore of water and ſtones. This paliſſade is ſometimes double, and even triple, the laſt row of piles being commonly adorned with battlements. Theſe piles are interwoven with branches of trees, which leave no void ſpaces. Before the uſe of firearms, theſe forts were capable of holding out a long time. In every village there is a place of arms, though generally in bad order. The *Iroquois* formerly excelled the other *Indians* in the architecture of their cabins, as well as in what they build themſelves at preſent. There were figures of relievo, though of a rude manner, to be ſeen in ſome of their cabins. But as all their cantons have been for the moſt part reduced to aſhes in ſeveral campaigns, they have never ſince thought of reſtoring them.

Iroquois beſt architects.

Hardſhips of the *Indians* in a hunting voyage. If the *Indians* are little ſolicitous about the conveniences of life in the ordinary places of their abode, they are ſtill more unconcerned with reſpect to their winter quarters. Their own country is rough and wild enough, but that where they go to hunt is much more uneven and diſmal. The journey thither coſts them a long time, during which they are obliged to carry all neceſſaries for five or ſix months, through ways ſo rugged, that one would wonder how the wild beaſts could make their paſſage over them. The bark of trees, with which they are under an indiſpenſable

indiſpenſable neceſſity to provide themſelves, is all their ſhelter from the rain and ſnow. They ſhift better when they have reached their journey's end, that is, they are not for ever expoſed to all the ſeverity of the weather.

Conſtruction of an *Indian* cabin.

Every one is obliged to lend a hand to build the cabins, the miſſionaries themſelves not being allowed a ſeparate one, but forced to take up their quarters in the firſt where they are made welcome. Theſe cabins, or huts, are moſtly of a round form, and terminate in a cone; and poles fixed in the ſnow is all their ſupport. Theſe are tied together at the extremities, and thatched with bark of trees very ill joined, and as badly faſtened, ſo that the keen wind penetrates on all ſides. In little more than half an hour the edifice is finiſhed, branches of pine-trees ſupplying the place of carpets and beds. They have this advantage, however, that you may change them every day. The whole is ſurrounded by a wall of ſnow, which helps to keep out the wind, and affords a ſhelter, under which they ſleep as ſound as on the ſofteſt of down.

Annoyances of ſmoke and dogs.

The ſmoke is a ſad mortification to ſuch as are not accuſtomed to this ſort of life, where you cannot ſtand upright without having your head wrapt in a cloud of it, though the *Indians* are not in the leaſt affected with it. Thus one ſide freezes, whilſt the other is broiling, and there is no breathing, nor often ſeeing any thing above three feet from the ground; and if you have a mind to breathe a little freſh air, you muſt ſtand without, expoſed to a continual ſnow, and to a dry and piercing wind, which peels the ſkin off the face, and cauſes the trees in the foreſts to crack. To all theſe perſecutions, that of the dogs is no ſmall addition. Theſe are always in great numbers to ſupply ſuch as are killed by the wild beaſts, but lean and ill-fed, and thin of hair, which renders them very chilly, ſo that they are always about the fire, which is little enough for themſelves. And when they cannot get near that, they will lye upon the firſt perſon that comes in their way, and it is not an unuſual thing to awake almoſt choaked with three or four great dogs lying upon you, and in the day time it is ſtill worſe, for they are ready to ſnatch the morſel from your mouth, and ten or a dozen great curs are leaping over and trampling upon you continually.

Hunger the worſt of evils.

This is but a ſmall part of the miſeries which attend this way of life, for there is a worſe too, and more inſupportable than all the reſt, which is hunger; it is no uncommon thing to be in want of proviſions, at a time when no game is to be found. The *Indians* are accuſtomed to long faſting, and proportionably negligent in making proper proviſions for theſe rude campaigns. The miſſionary who gives the account of it was reduced to the neceſſity of eating the ſkin of eels and elks, with which his veſt was lined, and when they were ſpent, to feed on the ſhoots and the ſofteſt parts of the bark of trees, and what is ſurpriſing enough not only ſurvived thoſe hardſhips, but kept his health well all the time.

Indians fordid in attire.

The *Indians* are very naſty in their cabins, and never change nor clean the furniture of their beds till worn to tatters. In the ſummer they bathe every day, but at the ſame time take care always to anoint themſelves with oil or fat of a very bad flavour. In the winter they remain wrapped in their coat of greaſe, ſo that nothing can be more nauſeous and abominable than the ſmell of their huts.

Courſe palates.

They are ſo ſlovenly in eating, and the ſight of their meals is ſo ſhocking, that one would wonder at the difference between their palates and ours. They have, however, improved in this article ſince the arrival of the *French*, eſpecially thoſe who live in the colony. The gnats are ſo troubleſome and vexatious in the ſummer, that the inconveniencies of the ſmoke are the leſſer evil, and they are often obliged to raiſe it to get free from the ſtings of the gnats.

Tenderneſs of Mothers.

The care which mothers take of their children whilſt yet in the cradle is beyond expreſſion. They never leave them, but carry them every where with them, and when they are ready to ſink under the weight of their burdens, the additonal load of the child not only goes for nothing, but is conſidered as a kind of relief and comfort in their fatigues.

Nothing can be more neat than thoſe cradles, which are both ſoft and commodious. The child is ſwathed only from the middle downwards, whence the head and body bend forwards; which, contrary to what one might naturally imagine, renders their bodies both active and well ſhaped.

Children after quitting their parents are under no ſort of confinement, but left to crawl on hands and feet, through woods, waters, mire, and ſnow, thus rendering their bodies proof againſt all injuries of air and weather. The diſorders incident to the breaſt and ſtomach are thought however to proceed from this over-hardy way of education. In the ſummer they are conſtantly ſwimming or paddling in the water. They are early taught the uſe of the bow and arrow, whence they become excellent markſmen. Wreſtling is alſo a favourite exerciſe amongſt them.

Indian education.

The firſt and almoſt ſole object of an *Indian*'s education is to inſtil into the mind a principle of honour, which laſts as long as life, and is cultivated by the parents with the greateſt care. This is effected always in an indirect manner, ſuch as relating the noble exploits of their countrymen or anceſtors. The youths take fire at the recital, and ſigh for ſome occaſion to imitate them. To correct their faults they employ tears and entreaties, and never menaces, which have no effect on the minds of *Indians*, it being a maxim with them, that none has a right to uſe the leaſt coercive means towards them, and chaſtiſements are never practiſed, but by ſuch as have become converts to Chriſtianity. The tears and reproaches of a mother, by ſaying, for inſtance, to her daughter, *Thou art a diſgrace to me*, are more prevalent than any puniſhment, the higheſt degree of which is throwing water in the face of the child, which is looked upon as an heinous offence. Slight as theſe chaſtiſements ſeem to us, yet ſo great is their power over ſuch minds, that a daughter has been known to ſtrangle herſelf out of ſtomach and reſentment for a few drops of water caſt in her face by her mother, taking her final leave with theſe threatning words, *You ſhall ſoon be rid of your daughter*. From ſuch an education we ſhould be apt to promiſe but little good; but experience, the beſt miſtreſs, ſhews us its ſalutary effects. The *Indians* by this means become early compoſed and maſters of themſelves, reaſon being generally their guide, and they are by no means propenſe to any kind of lewdneſs or debauchery.

Indians of a robuſt habit of body.

The *Indians* of *Canada* are generally well made, and tall of ſtature, and a deformed perſon is rarely to be ſeen amongſt them. They are alſo of a robuſt, vigorous, and healthy habit of body, and naturally very long livers, though their forced marches, and long faſtings, ruin many naturally excellent conſtitutions; and the uſe of brandy, which they drink always with a view to intoxicate themſelves, has contributed not a little to unpeople this country, the inhabitants of which are now reduced to leſs than one twentieth part of what they were one hundred and fifty years ago.

Early inured to hardſhips.

Their bodies are not ſwathed and ſtraitened in the cradle like ours; and nothing in more proper to give them that wonderful agility in all their members than this liberty, and the exerciſes to which they are accuſtomed from their earlieſt infancy. Their mothers ſuckle them ſometimes ſeven years, though they neglect not giving them other food from the firſt year. They are almoſt continually expoſed to the open air, and made to undergo the greateſt fatigues, but gradually, and in proportion to their ſtrength. Their food is ſimple and natural, which, with the reſt, contributes to render their body robuſt, and capable of enduring incredible hardſhips, though many of them die under this management before they arrive at their full growth.

Excel *Europeans* in acuteneſs of ſenſes and faculties.

Amongſt the advantages they have over us, the firſt and chief is the acuteneſs and perfection of all their ſenſes and faculties of mind and body. Their ſight, amidſt the ſnow which dazzles them, and in ſpite of the ſmoke which blinds them for ſix months of the year, is ſharp and ſtrong. Their hearing is extremely quick, and their ſmell ſo delicate, that they perceive fire long before they are capable of ſeeing it. Hence they cannot endure the ſmell of muſk, nor of any other perfume, and ſome among them pretend that every ſmell diſguſts them except that of eatables.

Their innate quality of remembring places.

Their imagination is amazing, and if they have once ſeen a place, they retain the idea of it in perpetual remembrance. They traverſe the vaſteſt and moſt unfrequented foreſts without ever miſſing their way. And the inhabitants of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, have made voyages of above forty leagues in the open ſea, without chart or compaſs, in canoes of bark, to find out the *Eſkimaux* with whom they were at war. The moſt exact quadrant is not capable of ſhewing the ſun's height with greater exactneſs than they will with their naked eye; and no ſtratagem could ever make them loſe their way in any part of the continent. They are born with this quality, which is common even to the very children, who travel

travel with the ſame ſureneſs as the moſt adult, ſo that this property may be juſtly ſaid to be innate in them.

The beauty of their imagination is equal to its livelineſs, which appears in all their diſcourſes. They are quick at repartees, and all their harangues are full of ſhining paſſages, which would have been applauded at *Rome* or *Athens*. Their eloquence has a ſtrength and neatneſs, and a virtue of moving the paſſions, which flows from nature, and not from rules of art, and which the *Greeks* ſo much admired in the *Barbarians*. Their lively imagination and eloquence

Their memory is no leſs wonderful; their way of relating things is neat, conciſe, and, amidſt the number of allegories, and other figures which they uſe, extremely animated, and embellithed with all the beauties of which their languages are ſuſceptible.

Their judgment is juſt and ſolid, tending always towards the chief point under deliberation, without deviating from the proper object, and free from heſitation or fickleneſs in determining. As they hold all manner of labour in contempt, except what is abſolutely neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, and ſimple way of life, it is no wonder they are backward in learning the arts. And even as to ſpiritual knowledge, which has little or no connection in their opinion with their preſent ſtate, they give themſelves not the leaſt trouble. As to what abſolutely concerns them, there is no nation more ſharp ſighted; at ſuch a juncture they neither neglect nor precipitate any meaſure, and if they are ſlow in reſolving, they diſcover no leſs quickneſs in the execution; a quality, which is remarkable amongſt the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* beyond others. Their judgment and diſpatch in matters of intereſt

They have generally a greatneſs of ſoul, and an elevation of ſentiment, together with a conſtancy of mind, which we, with all our religion and philoſophy, hardly ever attain, and, in the moſt ſudden ſhocks, they are always ſo much maſters of themſelves, that you cannot diſcover the leaſt change in their countenance. Magnanimity

Their conſtancy in torments is beyond all expreſſion. A young woman ſhall be a whole day in the pains of child-birth without ſo much as a ſingle ſhriek; and the leaſt weakneſs would cauſe her to be thought unworthy of the name of mother, and capable only of bringing cowards and poltroons into the world. Nothing is more common than to ſee perſons of all ages and ſexes endure, not only for hours, but alſo for ſeveral days together, all the tortures which fire or their tormentors are capable of inflicting without a groan; and their only thought during their ſufferings is, how they may exaſperate their executioners, by the moſt galling reproaches. Conſtancy under ſufferings.

With ſo much firmneſs of ſoul, and ſentiments ſo noble, it is no wonder to find them calm and unmoved in the greateſt dangers, and endowed with a courage proof againſt every trial. In the wars, however, they expoſe themſelves as little as poſſible, as they place their chief glory in never buying a victory too dear; and it is a maxim with them to weaken themſelves as little as poſſible, ſince their nations are far from being numerous. But when there is any neceſſity to give battle, they fight like lions, and the ſight of their blood ſerves only to increaſe their ardor in the combat. And, in ſhort, all who have ſeen them engage make high encomiums of their behaviour. Fortitude.

But, what is abundantly ſurpriſing, under an outſide which promiſes none but the moſt barbarous manners, they treat one another with a civility and a reſpect unknown to the moſt civilized nations. Such a carriage proceeds from their want of property, where the words *meum* and *tuum* have not extinguiſhed ſentiments of charity, and benevolence, and humanity in their breaſts. The eaſy and unaffected gravity which appears in every action, and in their whole behaviour, even in their diverſions, the reſpect they ſhew to their equals, and reverence towards old age, are equally admirable. The maxim, that every man is independant of any other, makes them cautious not to injure any perſon. Friendſhip, compaſſion, gratitude, their care of orphans, widows, and ſick perſons, and that moſt admirable hoſpitality they exerciſe towards one another, are not ſo much, in them, the effects of inſtinct or ſentiment, as of a perſuaſion that amongſt men all things ought to be in common. Civility [illegible] under [illegible]

In a people deſtitute of all manner of cultivation, it is no wonder if we find ſome blemiſhes, where we muſt acknowledge ſo many things truly worthy of commendation. Amongſt their vices, drunkenneſs may be ſaid to hold the firſt rank. They never drink but with deſign to get drunk, and then they are tranſported with fury, and carried to ſuch exceſſes as are frightful to behold. The *Europeans*, however, are the cauſe of this evil, which has almoſt depopulated this continent. Their vices. Drunkenneſs.

In

Laſciviouſneſs.

In the Southern countries of *Canada*, men and women promiſcuouſly are given to the moſt ſhameful lewdneſs, and the contagion has even ſpread itſelf amongſt the *Indians* of the Northern parts. The *Iroquois*, in particular, once a ſober people, and far from incontinence of that kind, have ſince caught the infection by their commerce with the *Ilinois* and other nations bordering on *Louiſiana*, amongſt whom, it is ſaid, their laſciviouſneſs flows from a principle of religion. It is indeed no wonder that their country ſhould be thinly peopled; for, beſides this reaſon, though the women are healthy and robuſt, they are, however, far from being fruitful. If we conſider alſo their cuſtom of long ſuckling, of abſtaining from the company of their huſbands during that time, the hard labour to which they are ſubjected, let their condition be what it will, the cuſtom of proſtituting the young women before marriage, which prevails in ſeveral parts, and the extreme diſtreſs to which they are often reduced, which makes them far from deſiring children; all theſe cauſes, in conjunction with the ravages made by the ſmall pox, and other diſeaſes imported amongſt them by the *Europeans*, contribute to depopulate the country.

Pride, diſſimulation, revenge, diſreſpect to parents.

Pride and haughtineſs is another vice natural to thoſe people, and almoſt inſeparable from them. Thoſe nations which we look upon as ſo very contemptible, have yet a ſovereign contempt of all others. The *Hurons*, before they were humbled by the *Iroquois*, who ſucceeded to their pride, as it were by right of conqueſt, were the haughtieſt of mortals. And they ſtill retain their pride, which was always their predominant vice, with a certain mixture of brutiſhneſs. They are alſo extremely ſuſpicious and miſtruſtful of the *Europeans*; a fault which may admit of ſome alleviation, conſidering the treatment they often undergo from them. They are great maſters of the art of diſſimulation, and cheriſh a thirſt of revenge, which, like an inheritance, they receive of their fathers, and tranſmit from generation to generation to their lateſt poſterity, or at leaſt till an occaſion offer to ſatiate it. The diſreſpect too of children to their parents is what juſtly ſhocks all mankind.

Colour and want of hair of *Americans*, how cauſed.

The colour of the Savages is a tawny red, or copper colour, eſpecially that of the nations inhabiting the Southern parts of *North America*. But this complexion is not natural to them, but acquired by frequent rubbing with unſightly colours, and their continual abode in the ſmoke, or expoſing themſelves to the hotteſt rays of the ſun. It is not ſo eaſy to aſſign the cauſe why they have no hair, except on their heads and eye-brows, which is always jet-black, a diſtinguiſhing mark of all the *Americans*. Some of them pluck out the hair of their eye-brows. What makes this ſingularity the more remarkable, is, that their children are born with long thin hair all over their bodies, which falls off at the end of eight days. There is alſo a down on the chins of the old men, ſuch as that of ſome women with us after arriving at a certain age. Some aſcribe this property to the purity of their blood, others will have it produced by their conſtant cuſtom of ſmoking tobacco. Whatever be the cauſe, the want of hair is eſteemed by all theſe nations a principal beauty, ſo that as ſoon as any appears they pluck it out by the roots, and they could not help looking on the firſt *Europeans* they ſaw as monſters, and with a kind of horror, becauſe of their beards, which it was then the faſhion to wear long. The white complexion of the *Europeans* is equally diſagreeable in their eyes, and it is reported that the fleſh of the *French* and *Engliſh* had a diſagreeable reliſh, becauſe, it ſeems, it had a ſaltiſh taſte.

Indians why happieſt of mortals.

If the lives which the *Indians* lead appear at firſt ſight to be ſomewhat diſſonant to our manners and conceptions, we ſhould conſider that all happineſs is relative, and depends more on opinion than on any thing without us. Beſides cuſtom, which is a ſecond nature, the liberty which they enjoy is more than ſufficient to compenſate for all the inconveniences they ſeem to us to ſuffer. The condition of ſtrolling beggars, as well as that of moſt indolent people, who prefer this darling of mankind to all the conveniences of life in exchange, proves, beyond all queſtion, that men may be happy in the very arms of indigence. The *Indians* are the happieſt of all mortals, and that for theſe two reaſons: Firſt, becauſe they believe themſelves to be ſo; and, ſecondly, becauſe they are in full and peaceable poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable thing in nature, which is liberty. To theſe we may add a third, which is, that they neither know, nor deſire to know, thoſe falſe enjoyments which we purchaſe with ſo much pains, and with the loſs of that which is ſolid and real. And their moſt admirable quality is that truly philoſophical way of thinking, which makes them contemn all the

the parade of our wealth and magnificence, ſo that ſome of the *Iroquois*, after they had been ſhewn all the ſplendor of the royal palaces in *France*, preferred their foreſts and cottages to all they had ſeen; admiring nothing in *Paris* ſo much as the plenty of all ſorts of victuals they ſaw in the ſhops of the cooks in the ſtreet *de la bucbette*. Hence not ignorance, or want of experience, as trial and obſervation induced them to treat our manners and way of living with the utmoſt contempt.

Origin of *American*.

There is, perhaps, no ſubject more curious, or what has more employed the researches of the learned, than the origin of the nations inhabiting the different parts of the New World. And here, as in all ſubjects of this nature, the great difficulty is to reconcile the various conjectures on this point with the account of things in the ſacred writings. Without entering into that controverſy, concerning which many books have been written, ſome deriving the *Indians* of *America* from the antient *Celtes*, others from the *Chineſe*, and ſome from the *Iſraelites*, and, laſtly, ſome from *Scandinavia*, an abridgement of which would fill a moderate volume, I will content myſelf with giving what, in my humble opinion, is the moſt probable conjecture concerning the origin of the *Indians* in that part of *America* I have been juſt now deſcribing, which is, that of our countryman *Brerewood*, who derives their pedigree from *Tartary*, and eſpecially, if it be true, that the continent of *America* is ſeparated from that of the *Aſiatic Tartary* only by narrow inlets of the ſea. The proofs with which this learned gentleman ſupports his hypotheſis, are ſuch as flow from a fund of ſagacity, and ſolid good ſenſe. The firſt is, that this continent has always been better peopled on the ſide towards *Aſia*, than on that towards *Europe*. In the ſecond place, the genius and manners of the *Americans*, in theſe parts, have a great and ſtriking reſemblance with thoſe of the *Tartars*, and all of them have the ſame contempt for mechanic arts. Thirdly, their colour and complexion are almoſt the ſame, and what little difference there may be, proceeds from that of the climates, and from the cuſtom of the *Americans* in rubbing themſelves with different ointments. In the fourth and laſt place, the wild beaſts found in *America* could only have come from *Tartary*, as it is impoſſible that theſe animals ſhould traverſe the ocean in their way to the new world, and *Tartary* is the only country from whence they could come without this traverſe. The difference in that the *Tartars* circumciſe themſelves is no material objection, thoſe people having never known the uſe of this rite, till they had embraced the doctrine of *Mahomet*. Every one is free to think as he pleaſes, but, for my part, if we muſt derive them from ſomewhere, inſtead of what is perhaps the beſt conjecture of all, which is, that they are *Aborigines*, I cannot ſee what can reaſonably be oppoſed to circumſtances ſo full of conviction.

America peopled from *Tartary*.

Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Settlement of CANADA.

THOUGH the *Engliſh* claim a right to all *North America*, from the Diſcovery of it by *Cabot* in 1497, to which he gave no name but that of the *Newfoundland*, yet the *French* pretended claim of this part of the world is founded as early as the year 1504, when, as they ſay, the fiſhermen of *Bayonne*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, uſed to fiſh for cod on the great bank of *Newfoundland*; and, to confirm it, that in 1506, *Jean Denys* of *Honfleur* made a map of the gulph known at this day under the name of *St Laurence*.

French firſt diſcoveries.

In 1508, *Thomas Aubert*, a pilot of *Dieppe*, brought ſome of the *Indians* of *North America* to *France*. The kings of *France*, however, ſeem not to have turned their attention towards *America* till the year 1523, when *Francis* I. deſirous to promote the trade and navigation of his kingdom, ordered *John Verazani*, who was then in his ſervice, to ſail on diſcovery of thoſe countries, of which much talk began to be made at this time. *Verazani* ſet out, in 1523, for *North America*, with four ſhips, but with what ſucceſs we are not told, except only that he brought back his four ſhips ſafe into port. Towards the end of the year following, he armed a ſhip in order to continue his diſcoveries. In the month of *March* he diſcovered the land of *Florida*, and, after coaſting along ſhore 50 leagues to the ſouthwards, found himſelf in 34 deg. North latitude; then, turning Northwards, he coaſted the continent

Diſcoveries of *Verazani*.

of *North America* as high as an island, which the *French* writers tell us had been discovered by the inhabitants of *Bretagne*, and is probably the same with *Newfoundland*. The success of his third voyage is not so well known, though the *Spanish* writers will have it that *Verazani* was taken near the *Canaries* by their countrymen, and hanged as a pirate.

Cartier's discoveries.

Ten years afterwards, *Philip Chabot*, admiral of *France*, engaged the king to resume the design of settling a colony of *French* in *America*, and presented Captain *Jacques Cartier* of *St Malo*, as a fit person to conduct that affair. The king yielded to this request, and, in *April* 1534, *Cartier* set out on his expedition. On the 10th of *May* he had sight of *Newfoundland*, where he could not land for the ice; wherefore, steering Southward ten degrees, he came to an anchor in a port which he called *St Catherine's*. Thence, ascending Northward, he made the *Isles des Oiseaux*, or *Bird Islands*. After coasting most part of *Newfoundland*, he steered his course Southwards, and after visiting great part of the coasts of the gulph, and taking possession in the name of his master, he returned into *France*, full of the advantages his country would probably reap from his discoveries. The most zealous person for the settlement of a colony in those parts, at the *French* court, was the Sieur *de la Mailleraye*. This gentleman obtained a commission for *Cartier*, who set out with three ships, accompanied by several young gentlemen as volunteers, and, on the tenth of *August*, entered the gulph, to which he gave the name of *St Lawrence*, from the Saint whose festival is celebrated on that day. This name has since been given to the river that discharges itself into it, which before that time had always been called *Canada* by the natives. He discovered the island of *Anticosti*, or *Natiscotek*, which he called the island of *Assumption*; and ascending the river 80 leagues as high as the *Saguenay*, and continuing his voyage 90 leagues higher, as far as *Hochelaga*, a large village of the *Indians*, gave it the name of *Montreal*, now called *Montreal*, as well as the whole island in which it stands. But the names which *Cartier* gave to the islands, rivers, capes, and places, in the maps he has left us, are hardly intelligible, and even the terms he mentions are no longer to be found in the languages of *Canada*.

Roberval constituted viceroy of Canada, &c.

For some time after this *France* seemed to have no thoughts of *Canada*, till 1540, when *François de la Roque*, Seigneur *de Roberval*, at his own request, obtained a commission, and was afterwards, by letters patent, created lord of *Norimbegue*, and viceroy and king's lieutenant general in *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, *Newfoundland*, *Belle isle*, *Carpon*, *Labrador*, *the Great Bay*, and *Bacalaos*. Next year *Roberval* set sail with five ships, on board of which was *Cartier*, in quality of first pilot, and built a fort, according to some, on the river of *St Laurence*, or, as others say, on the island of *Cape Breton*, leaving *Cartier* as his lieutenant with a numerous garrison. *Roberval* made several other voyages, in the last of which he perished with all on board, and with them all the hopes of *France* of settling this part of the new world.

De la Roche fails to settle a colony.

After fifty years of civil wars, *France* seemed to resume her former intention of settling colonies in *America*, and, in 1598, the Marquis *de la Roche*, a gentleman of *Bretagne*, obtained of *Henry* IV. the same powers and commission which M. *de Roberval* had under *Francis* I. and *Henry* III. The first land he arrived at, was *Isle de Sable*, or *Sandy Isle*, a barren and inhospitable island, where, if we may believe the *French* accounts, the Baron *de Lery* had endeavoured to settle a colony as early as the year 1508. Afterwards M. *de la Roche* visited the coast of *Acadia* on the neighbouring continent; and, after making what observations he judged necessary for his design, he set sail for *France*. The great expence he was at to make it succeed proving fruitless, he is said to have died of grief.

The ill success of the marquis hindered not an eager sollicitation for his commission. M. *de Chauvin*, and M. *de Chatte*, succeeding each other in this service about 1600, 1602, and 1603. About this time a gentleman of *Saintonge*, a grave and experienced captain, at the sollicitation of Governor *de Chatte*, made a voyage to *Canada*. He sailed up the river *St Laurence* as far as *Sault St. Louis*, where *Cartier* had been before; but the village of *Hochelaga* was now no more. On his return to *France* he found that *de Chatte* was dead, and a new governor appointed in his room. This was *Peter du Guast*, Sieur *de Monts* of *Saintonge*, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and governor of *Pons*, who had obtained the exclusive privilege of

Company formed, and discoveries prosecuted by Peter du Guast, &c.

of trading for furs from 44 to 54 degrees of North latitude, with power to grant lands as high as 45 degrees, and with letters patent creating him vice-admiral and lieutenant general over all this tract. *De Monts* was of the reformed religion, and the king had granted him the full exercise of it in *America*, on condition he should people the country, and settle the *Roman* catholic religion amongst the *Indians*. This gentleman, who was a man of honour, and zealous for the success of the settlement, had maintained the company formed by his predecessor, and also strengthened it by the accession of several merchants of the principal ports of *France*, especially those of *Rochelle*. The armament fitted out on this occasion surpassed all that had been before, but his exclusive privilege raised him abundance of enemies, who traversed all his designs, and ruined him at last. However he, together with *Samuel Champlain*, and *Jean de Biencour*, afterwards his lieutenant, finished their incroachments in *Acadia*, begun by the Marquis *de la Roche*, and next in that part of the continent of *America*, lying to the North-West of the *Baye Françoise*, which the *French* pretend to be a part of *Canada*. The same year, 1604, they made a settlement at the island of *St Croix*, and the winter following *Champlain* extended his incroachments as far as the River of *Penobscot*, where *Pentagoet* was built.

In 1605, the same gentlemen intruded as far as *Quinibequi*, now known by the name of *Kennebeck* River; thence to *Cape Malebar*, near the Cape called by the *French*, *Cape Blanc*, and by our writers *Cape Cod*, in the neighbourhood of *Boston*. The *French* writers also tell us, that *Champlain* planted a cross on *Cape Malebar*, and took possession of it in the name of his master. Three years afterwards, that is, in 1608, the same *Champlain* founded the city of *Quebec*, the capital of *New France*, on the third of *July*, on the Northern bank of the river *St Laurence*. In 1611 *Champlain* penetrated into the province of *New York* to the country of the *Iroquois*, and, in his way, seized on *Corleur* Lake, and changed its name to that of *Champlain*. In the winter of 1613, he ran over the country of the *Hurons*.

Quebec founded by *Champlain*.

The first hostilities between the *English* and *French* nations, in these parts, commenced about the year 1613, when Captain *Samuel Argal* setting sail from *Virginia* for the *Newfoundland* fishery, about the *Isle of the desart mountains*, hearing that some strangers had settled near *Pentagoet*, attacked and carried that settlement; and some time after the governor of *Virginia* sent out *Argal*, with a commission to drive the *French* out of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, in consequence of the grant of *James* I. He proceeded to *Pentagoet*, which he found abandoned; from thence he went to the Isle of *St Croix*, where he demolished the plantation of *de Monts*, and thence steering for *Port Royal* in *Nova Scotia*, set fire to it, and in two hours destroyed what had cost the *French* more than a hundred thousand crowns, besides the loss of three years labour.

Commencement of hostilities between the *French* and *English*.

It was about this time, in 1613, on *Champlain*'s return to *France*, that *Canada* obtained the name of *New France*. *Charles de Bourbon*, Count of *Soissons*, taking upon himself the protection of the colony, made *Champlain* his lieutenant, who, after the Count's death, was continued in his employ by his successor in the chief direction: This was the Prince of *Conde*, under whose auspices he returned to *Quebec*, where he found every thing in a very flourishing condition. Some time after, the court's neglecting the colony, and abandoning the proprietors and persons interested in the company to their own narrow views, and the troubles, which arose in *France*, created many obstructions to its growth, so that *Champlain* lost most of his time in voyages to *Europe* to solicit succours, which were seldom or never granted him in season, when opportunity or need required. The jealousy of the merchants was no small addition to those evils. The Prince of *Conde*, in 1620, yielded his viceroyalty of *New France* to the Marshal *de Montmorency*, and *Champlain* still continued in the government of the colony as his lieutenant.

Canada how called *New France*.

The year following the *Iroquois* attacked the *French* settlements in three bodies, one of which carried fire and sword to the gates of *Quebec*; this consideration, with a rumour that the *Hurons* were on the point of breaking their alliance with the *French*, and joining the *Iroquois*, made *Champlain* solicitous for securing the capital, the inhabitants of which, at this time, though so much had been done to people the colony, I am assured, did not exceed fifty persons, including women and children.

Colony attacked by the *Iroquois*.

children. And commerce was far from being open, though there was a very flouriſhing trade at *Tadouſſac*, and a good mart at the *Three Rivers*, 25 leagues above *Quebec*. For theſe reaſons *Champlain*, in 1623, cauſed the fortificatins of that capital to be built with ſtone; this done, he returned into *France* with his family, where he found the Marſhal *de Montmorency* engaged in a treaty with his nephew the Duke *de Ventadour* for ſurrendering to him the viceroyalty of *New France*, which was ſoon after concluded. This year, or the year before, on remonſtrances made to the king that the company neglected the colony, their privileges were taken from them, and given to two private perſons, *William* and *Emeric de Caen*.

Cardinal *Richelieu* forms a new company.

Four years after this, Cardinal *Richelieu*, deſirous of advancing the *French* commerce in *Canada*, ſince the Sieurs *de Caen* thought of nothing but enriching themſelves, like their predeceſſors, formed a new company, on terms which the *French* writers extol as highly advantageous to that colony, and which would have rendered it the moſt powerful ſettlement in *America*, had they been carried into execution. The firſt year of their privileges, which was 1628, they were to carry over two or three hundred workmen of different trades, and, before fifteen years ſhould expire, they obliged themſelves to augment the number of inhabitants to ſixteen thouſand, to provide them lodging, and a ſufficiency of all neceſſaries for three years, and, after that, to aſſign them as much land to clear as would be ſufficient to ſubſiſt them, and to furniſh them with ſeed to ſow it. All the labourers were to be natives of *France*, and no foreigner, or heretic, was to be ſuffered to ſet foot in the colony. In each ſettlement were to be at leaſt three prieſts, whoſe expences, as well as thoſe of their function, were to be born by the company during fifteen years, after which they were to ſubſiſt on cleared lands to be aſſigned them.

Privileges granted to it.

To indemnify or ſatisfy the company for this expence, the king granted to them and to their aſſigns for ever the fort and ſettlement of *Quebec*, all the country of *New France*, *Florida* included, the whole courſe of the great river, with the other rivers which flow into it, or which diſcharge themſelves into the ſea within this tract, together with all its iſlands, ports, rivers, fiſheries, *&c.* conformable to the ordinance: The king only preſerving to himſelf the duties of fealty and homage, with a crown of gold of the weight of eight marks, at every ſucceſſion to the throne, and the ſalaries of the officers of juſtice, who ſhould be named and preſented by the company when they ſhould think fit to appoint any ſuch court. They had alſo power to caſt cannon, build and fortify places, make all ſorts of arms and weapons offenſive and defenſive, and in general to do every thing neceſſary for the defence and ſecurity of the colony and its commerce; alſo power to make grants of lands in ſuch quantities as they ſhould judge proper, and to qualify them with ſuch titles, honours, rights, and privileges, as they ſhould ſee fit, and according to the rank, condition, and merits of the perſons to whom they ſhould be granted, and with ſuch incumbrances, reſerves, and conditions, as to them ſhould ſeem meet; except only that in caſe of erections of lands into dutchies, marquiſates, earldoms, or baronies, they ſhould take out letters of confirmation on the preſentation of Cardinal *Richelieu*, grand maſter, chief, and ſuperintendant of the navigation and commerce of *France*. His majeſty alſo revokes all former conceſſions, granting the entire trade for furs, hides, and other peltry, to the aſſociates for fifteen years only, to commence from the 1ſt of *January* 1628, till the laſt day of *December* 1643, with all other commerce, whether by land or ſea, within the ſaid countries, in the moſt extenſive manner that may be, reſerving only the cod and whale fiſheries, which the king leaves free to all his ſubjects; and provided, alſo, that all *French* ſettled in thoſe parts, and not ſubſiſted at the company's expence, ſhall be entitled to trade for furs with the *Indians*, on condition that they ſhall only ſell ſuch furs to the company's factors at the general rate of forty ſous tournois each. The king further preſents the company with two ſhips of war from two to three hundred tuns burthen, which the company ſhall be obliged to maintain, and in caſe of loſs to replace, except they ſhall happen to be taken by his majeſty's enemies in open war. The company, in caſe of failure, by not carrying over fifteen hundred perſons of both ſexes in the firſt ten years, were obliged to refund the coſt of the two ſhips of war; and, in caſe of failure, by not tranſporting the like number in the five remaining years, to forfeit their charter. The company had leave to tranſport on the ſaid ſhips what

effects

officers and troops they ſhould ſee fit, provided only that all captains ſo tranſported, as well as commanders of places and forts, which now are, or ſhall hereafter be built, ſhall take his majeſty's commiſſions or proviſions.

In order to induce perſons to ſettle in *New France*, and to erect all ſorts of manufactures there, it is ordered; that all artiſans who ſhall engage with the company, and who ſhall follow their profeſſions there for ſix years, on returning into *France*, ſhall be free to follow their ſeveral trades and crafts in *Paris*, and other cities throughout the kingdom; that all merchandize, and eſpecially ſuch as ſhall be manufactured by the *French* in that province, ſhall be exempt from all impoſts and duties within the kingdom for fifteen years to come, as well as all ſtores, proviſions, and warlike ammunition, which ſhall be deſtined for the ſaid province; that all perſons, of whatever rank or condition, may enter into the ſaid company, without derogation to the honours or privileges annexed to their orders, his majeſty engaging to grant letters of nobleſs to twelve of the company, in caſe ſo many ſhall be found who ſhall not be of that rank, the which nobility or honour ſhall deſcend to all their lawful iſſue; that all the deſcendants of *French* reſiding in *New France*, as well as all *Indians* who ſhall be converted to the faith, ſhall be held and reputed legitimate *French*, with power to inhabit, acquire, deviſe, ſucceed, and accept donations and legacies, in the ſame manner as natural *French*, without neceſſity of taking out letters declaratory of naturalization. Encouragements offered to ſettlers.

Theſe articles were ſigned the 19th of *April* 1627, by Cardinal *Richelieu*, and by thoſe who had preſented the project, and approved, of by the king, by an edict in the month of *May*, of the ſame year, dated in the camp before *Rochelle*: This done, the Duke *de Ventadour* reſigned his place of viceroy. The company took the title of *the Company of New France*, amounting to the number of 107 perſons, whereof Card. *Richelieu* and Marſhal *Deſiat* were the chief, being joined by ſeveral other perſons of quality, and the reſt conſiſting of many of the richeſt merchants and citizens of *Paris* and other trading cities. Thus this colony was likely to become worthy of the public attention, being ſupported by ſo powerful a company. Company entitled *the company of New France*.

The beginnings of this eſtabliſhment were far from being fortunate. The firſt veſſels ſent by the company were taken by an *Engliſh* fleet under the command of Capt. *Kirk*, who after a firſt attempt without ſucceſs, and making himſelf maſter of a *French* ſquadron, which carried ſeveral *French* families, and proviſions for the garriſon, paid it another viſit in 1629, when he took *Quebec*, by which he made a conqueſt of all *Canada*; and it remained in the hands of the *Engliſh*, the *French* inhabitants continuing in their habitations, till 1632, when it was reſtored to *France*, together with *Acadia* and the iſland of *Cape Breton*, at the peace of *St Germain's en Laye*. From the death of *Champlain*, which happened about this time, I find nothing very intereſting, excepting that the company of the hundred aſſociates, following the footſteps of their predeceſſors, ſuffered the colony to languiſh; and that the miſſionaries were buſied on all hands in converting the *Indians*; and that the irruptions of the *Iroquois* made it neceſſary for the new governor to think of ſecuring the colony againſt any future attempts. This was the occaſion of their intruſion in building *Richelieu* fort at the mouth of the *Iroquois* river, ſince called *Richelieu* river. That *Indian* nation ſtill continued their ravages till 1645, when a peace was concluded with them, and ratified by all the cantons. In 1647, the Chevalier *de Montmagny*, *Champlain*'s ſucceſſor in the government of *New France*, was recalled, on account of a new regulation made by the court, that no governor of any *French* colony ſhould continue above three years in office, the occaſion of which was the refuſal of a governor general of the Iſles to admit a ſucceſſor, and his maintaining himſelf in his government. *Canada* conquered by the *Engliſh*, and reſtored. *Richelieu* fort built.

Montmagny was ſucceeded by M. *d'Ailleboust*, who had commanded at the *Three Rivers*. He reſembled his predeceſſor in his prudent adminiſtration, in taking proper meaſures to gain and preſerve the affections and eſteem of both *French* and *Indians*, and in a perfect knowledge of the province and its neceſſities. *Ailleboust* governor.

Quebec, as well as the other *French* ſettlements in *Canada*, now enjoyed a calm, and all the *Indians*, who were accuſtomed to live among them, partook of the ſame tranquillity. The trade conſiſted chiefly in furs, and was carried on principally at the *Three Rivers* and *Tadouſſac*, whither the *Indians* reſorted for that purpoſe. The *Iroquois* continued their incurſions upon the *Hurons*, allies of the *French*, with their wonted ſucceſs. But one of the moſt extraordinary events was an embaſſy from *New England*, propoſing a perpetual alliance between the two colonies, independent of any ruptures that might Embaſſy from *New England*

happen betwixt the two crowns. The *French* governor was highly pleased with this proposal, and for that purpose, with advice of the council, sent Father *Dreuillettes* to *Boston*, in quality of plenipotentiary, to conclude and sign the treaty; but on condition the *English* should join their forces with them against the *Iroquois*. The success of this first negociation is uncertain; all that we know of it is, that, after languishing for some time, it was resumed with more warmth in 1651; and that it came to nothing, because the people of *New England* were unwilling to agree to commence hostilities against the *Iroquois*; whether it was, that they had nothing to fear from them, or that those *Indians* were then in alliance with them, I know not.

Why fruitless.

Hurons broken by the *Iroquois*.

This year too the *Huron* nation was almost entirely destroyed by the *Iroquois*, particularly the cantons of *St Ignatius*, and of *St Lewis*, with most part of the warriors of *St Mary*. And, in about eight days time, most of the cantons in the neighbourhood of this last were abandoned, the inhabitants removing to the little island of *St Joseph*, where, neglecting to sow the land, and their hunting and fishing falling short, they suffered inconceivable hardships, being reduced to the necessity of eating dead bodies, which they dug up after they had been half consumed with rottenness.

Ravages, desolations, and cruelty of the same barbarians.

The history of the remaining part of *Aillebousts* government contains nothing remarkable, except the destruction of the *Hurons* of *St John*, a populous canton, containing not less than six hundred families, with the death of their two missionaries also by the *Iroquois*; a conspiracy of the *Hurons* of the canton of *St Matthew*, especially those who were still idolaters, against the *French*, from a belief that they owed all their misfortunes to them, and to the new religion introduced by them, and disconcerted by the vigilance of their missionaries; and the desertion of the Isle of *St Joseph*, occasioned by the famine above mentioned, part of the inhabitants transporting themselves to *Quebec*, and the others retiring, some into the countries of other *Indian* nations, on whom they brought the arms of the *Iroquois*; some taking sanctuary amongst the *English* of *Pensylvania*; and others, again, particularly the cantons of *St John Baptist* and *St Michael*, taking shelter amongst the *Iroquois* themselves, who, contrary to expectation, gave them a good reception; those, in the last place, who continued to wander through woods and deserts, being all taken and butchered. From these events it was, that not only the *Hurons* trembled at the name of the *Iroquois*, but also, from a like terror, all the banks of the river of the *Outawais*, which but the year before were so full of inhabitants, were almost totally abandoned, none knowing what became of those *Indians*; and the *French* themselves were filled with no less dread of those merciless savages. We find, also, an expedition of the *Hurons*, who had taken sanctuary under the cannon of *Quebec*, against the *Iroquois*, which miscarried, most of the party in it being either killed, or taken and burnt. And, lastly, we find, recorded the progress of the missionaries in converting the natives in spite of all obstacles, death and the cruellest torments not excepted, the chief intention of *France* being evidently directed towards that end, from a notion that, in order to secure the affections of the *Indians*, they must begin by inspiring them with an ardent zeal for their religion.

Lauson governor.

About the end of 1650, famous in the annals of *Canada* for the destruction of almost all the *Huron* nation, M. *de Lauson*, one of the principal members of the company of *Canada*, was named to the government of *New France* in the room of M. *d'Aillebousts*, whose three years were now expired; but did not arrive till the year after. This gentleman had always been uncommonly active in the affairs of the colony, and it was owing to him principally that *Quebec* was restored by the *English* to the *French*. He had heard of the decline of the colony, but, on his arrival, found its affairs in a worse posture still than had been represented to him.

Iroquois victorious.

The *Iroquois* continued their ravages, and being grown fierce by their victories, no longer respected the *French* forts as checks to their incursions, but spread themselves over all the country, so that no person could think himself safe in his own house, and the *French* governor of the *Three Rivers* was killed by them at the head of his troops, and in his own post. The Northern country felt the same fury, and *Syllery*, no longer accounted safe within its retrenchment of palisades, was inclosed with a wall mounted with cannon.

The country in *New England* and *Nova Scotia*, occupied by the *Abenaquis* nations, where Father *Dreuillettes* had sown the seeds of the *Roman* catholic religion,

gion, and gained them over to the *French* intereſt, were the only countries which the *Iroquois* never dared to invade. The people of *New England* felt in the ſequel the ill effects of ſuffering the *French* to gain and ſecure the friendſhip of thoſe *Indians* by the ties of religion. About this time I find a miſſion eſtabliſhed amongſt the *Attikamegues*, the miſſionary appointed to this work being killed by the *Iroquois*, who were bloody enemies to them and their cauſe, ſo that ſcarce a year paſſed but one or other died a martyr to his profeſſion. Bad policy of *New England*

Montreal ſuffered no leſs from the incurſions of the *Iroquois*, than the other quarters of *New France*. And M. *de Maiſonneuve*, after going to *Paris* for ſuccours, which he could not otherwiſe obtain, returned in 1653, with a reinforcement of a hundred men, and, what was reckoned a greater acquiſition, with *Margaret Burgeſs*, a native of *Langres*, foundreſs of the inſtitution of the Daughters of the Congregation, and famous throughout all the colony for her eminent virtues. This year alſo a peace was concluded with the *Iroquois*, though not long kept, being broken and cemented again afreſh the year following, and miſſionaries ſettled amongſt ſeveral of the *Iroquois* cantons. Miſſionaries ſettle among the *Iroquois*.

Much about this time the *Iroquois* compleated the deſtruction of the *Eries*, or *Cat Indians*. After driving the *Hurons* from their country, the *Iroquois* next marched againſt their allies, and particularly the *Outawais*, who finding themſelves not in a condition to reſiſt thoſe who had conquered the braveſt and moſt powerful nations of all this continent, thought proper not to wait at home till their throats ſhould be cut, and their villages reduced to aſhes. Some of them had therefore already retired into to the bay of *Saguinan*, others into the *Anſe de Tonnerre*, both of them in lake *Huron*, and numbers into the iſlands of *Monitoualin* and *Michillimakinac*. But the bulk of the nation had remained on the banks of the great river, which bears their name, till the total deſtruction of the *Huron* cantons. On this they joined themſelves to the *Hurons* called *Tionnontatez*, with whom they penetrated far into the Southern countries. At firſt they made an alliance with the *Sioux*, with whom they afterwards quarrelled, and, thus, trained up to war, at their own coſt, that nation, hitherto regarded as very unwarlike, and ſcarce ever heard of on this ſide the *Miſſiſipi*. Then, ſeparating themſelves into ſeveral bands, by the miſery to which they were reduced, they carried every where the terror of the name of the *Iroquois*; and at length after many wanderings, and ſeparations into ſmall bodies, ſeveral of which have never ſince been heard of, they have diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that there ſcarce at preſent ſubſiſts the twentieth part of what they formerly were. Fate of the *Outawais*.

The good underſtanding between the *French* and the *Upper Iroquois* was of no long continuance. For, in 1657, they had come to a reſolution to extirpate the *French*, by a general maſſacre of all that were in their country; but being diſcovered, the whole nation took off the maſk, and the war began with greater animoſity than ever. War renewed with the *Iroquois*.

In *July*, of the year following, the Viſcount *d'Argenſon*, the new governor general, landed at *Quebec*; who, by his vigorous meaſures in repreſſing the inſults of the *Iroquois*, ſettled the repoſe of the colony for ſome time. In 1659, we are to place the arrival of *François de Laval*, titulary biſhop of *Petrea*, with the Pope's brief as apoſtolical vicar, and with him ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics, who were ſettled in the ſeveral curacies, which had been till now ſerved by the Jeſuits, in order as they arrived. Theſe curacies were at firſt ſerved by commiſſion, and were removeable at the will of the biſhop, or ſuperiors of the ſeminary of *Quebec*, but now named by the directors of the foreign miſſions. Since that there has been an order of the court to have all the curacies fixed like thoſe in *France*, though this has not been entirely complied with, and eſpecially in the iſland of *Montreal*, where the curacies are under the direction of the ſeminary of *Quebec*. The ſeminary of *St Sulpicius* had, two years before this, acquired all the rights of the firſt proprietors of this iſland; and, in 1062, M. *de Petrea* obtained letters patent of the king for the erection of a ſeminary at *Quebec*, which was to furniſh paſtors to the whole colony, and to the directors of which the tithes were to be paid, and the whole to be taxed at a thirteenth for the revenue of the church. But the ſettlers complaining of this burden, the ſupreme council of *New France* iſſued an arret in 1667, ordaining the tenths to be taxed at the twenty ſixth part, to be paid in grain, and that new-cleared lands ſhould pay nothing; which arret was accordingly put in execution. The colony afterwards Eccleſiaſtic regulations.

terwards increaſing, new curacies were eſtabliſhed, and the tithes claimed as their right, which was ſettled by a royal edict in *May* 1679. Five years after, *Quebec* was erected into a biſhop's ſee, confirming the proviſional arret of the ſupreme council with reſpect to either, and provided that, if the tenths ſhould be found inſufficient for the maintenance of the curacies, the deficiency ſhould be made good by the lords and inhabitants, which has, however, never been allowed, the king granting out of his own domain the ſum of 7600 livres yearly towards the ſubſiſtence of curates The ſum for the maintenance of a curate was afterwards regulated by the king at 400 livres yearly; and, in 1707, his majeſty, beſides the above ſum of 7600 livres, grants the additional ſum of 2000 livres yearly, for the ſupport of ſuch as, by the reaſon of their great age, or other infirmities, were unable to ſerve their cures; which ſum was to be divided into ſix portions, of 300 livres each, and one of 200. There are moreover two ſums of 1350 livres each, one for the benefit of the ſaid curates, and for building parochial churches, the patronage of which was to reſide in the biſhop, and not, as hitherto, in the lords, which churches were alſo to be built of ſtone, and all thoſe ſums to be in the diſpoſal of the biſhop. The chapter of the cathedral is compoſed of a dean, a head chanter, or precentor, a chief archdeacon, a divine, and twelve canons. The king nominates thoſe of the firſt rank, and the biſhop the reſt.

Hoſpital, foundation for girls.

To return to *Montreal*, the directors of the ſeminary of *St Sulpicius* firſt of all ſet about building an hoſpital, to which ſeveral pious perſons largely contributed, to be ſerved by the daughters of the *Hotel dieu* of the ſame city, an inſtitution ſince erected into an order. At the ſame time was founded the inſtruction of the daughters of the congregation for the education of young perſons of the tender ſex of all conditions, which equals any thing of the kind in *Europe* in every reſpect. The firſt deſign was to make nuns of the pupils, but this was laid aſide on the edict in 1709, which forbids their entering a cloiſter, or taking any vow. They remonſtrated, deſiring to be permitted to take upon them ſimple and not ſolemn vows; but this was alſo rejected by the council as a thing of pernicious conſequence to the colony. The Urſelins of *Quebec* had the ſame object in their inſtitution, though with little effect without the walls, all their precepts vaniſhing out of mind and memory, as ſoon as the pupils get amongſt their *Indian* relations, where they take to their old way of living.

Diſcoveries, wars, &c.

We are to place here alſo the diſcovery of ſome *Indian* nations about the North and Weſt of *Lake Huron*, as well as ſome new miſſions amongſt the *Abenaquis*, and *Eſkimaux*, and the firſt viſits of the *French* to the *Sioux*, a wandering, but very populous nation on the banks of the *Miſſiſipi* to the weſt of *Canada*, from whoſe mild diſpoſition, and natural good ſenſe, they promiſed themſelves many advantages. About this time I find the *French* colony reduced to great extremities from the hoſtilities of the *Iroquois*, and the want of ſuccours from *France*, ſo that none durſt ſtir from the forts without an eſcort. Theſe evils were ſtill augmented by the acceſſion of an epidemical diſtemper, which particularly carried off a great number of young children. I paſs over many particulars relating to the hoſtilities of the *Iroquois*, and the negociations for a peace, with the various turns and hopes occaſioned by thoſe tranſactions, the ſucceſs and fate of the miſſionaries, buſied on all hands in converting the *Indians*, at the hazard and often with the loſs of their lives.

Account of a dreadful earthquake.

I cannot, however, help taking notice of one of the moſt extraordinary earthquakes that has happened almoſt in any country in the memory of man, whether you conſider the vaſt extent of land which felt its ſhocks, or the ſingularity of its aſtoniſhing effects. F. *Charlevoix*'s account of it, is what I am about to give, and that chiefly for the ſake of thoſe who are fond of the marvellous. He introduces his relation with remarks on the pernicious influence of the trade of ſelling ſpirituous liquors to the *Indians*, the effects of which were a total diſſolution of manners, and a diſregard to the remonſtrances of the biſhop, preachers, and confeſſors, as well as to the thunders of the church, and the menacings of the divine wrath. The biſhop of *Quebec*, by an application to court, put a ſtop to this infamous traffic, which produced ſuch horrible diſorders; but, ſays that learned miſſionary, heaven had already prevented his cares, and, by one of thoſe events which ſtrike terror into the moſt obdurate and licentious, the greateſt part of the colony were brought back to the right way from which they had wandered. The matter of fact, ſays he, has been atteſted by the conſtant and unanimous teſtimony of a whole colony; and the effects, which ſtill ſubſiſt,

ſiſt, put it beyond the cavils of the moſt ſceptical. He does not, however, pretend to vouch it in all its circumſtances. After this he proceeds as follows :

During the autumn in 1663, a number of bodies of fire, of different figures, but all of them extraordinary, were ſeen in the air. Over *Quebec* and *Montreal* appeared in the night a globe of fire, extremely ſhining, only at *Montreal* it ſeemed as if it proceeded from the moon, and was accompanied with a noiſe, like the diſcharge of a cannon, and after gliding through the air for about three leagues, it vaniſhed behind the mountain whence the iſland takes its name.

On *January* 7, the following year, there aroſe an almoſt imperceptible vapour from the great river, which, after it was ſtruck with the ſun's rays, became tranſparent, but with body ſufficient to ſupport two parahelions, which appeared by the ſide of this meteor. Thus appeared at the ſame time, three ſuns, in a line parallel to the horizon, ſome fathoms diſtant from each other, each of them with a rainbow, the colours of which varied every inſtant, now appearing like an ordinary rainbow, then of a bright whiteneſs, as if there had been a great fire behind it. This ſight laſted two full hours, and was repeated on the 14th, though leſs perceptible.

Earthquake predicted.

In the beginning of *February*, a rumour went, that an earthquake would very ſoon happen, ſuch as had never happened in the memory of man, taking its riſe from the admonitions of certain perſons eminent for piety, warning every ſoul to make their peace with God, and try to appeaſe the divine wrath, juſtly kindled againſt *New France*.

Voice foretelling.

On the night of the 13th of the ſame month, an *Algonkin* woman, a very fervent chriſtian, being awake, and ſitting on her bed, heard a voice, ſaying, that within two days wonderful things ſhould happen. Next day, as ſhe was in the foreſt with her ſiſter, making her proviſion of wood, ſhe heard the ſame voice, predicting that on the morrow, between four and five in the evening, the earth would quake in a terrible manner.

Dream and extaſy.

A young maiden of the ſame nation, whoſe piety had obtained the miraculous cure of a diſeaſe, dreamt on the night between the 4th and 5th inſtant, that the *Virgin Mary* appeared to her, and told her the hour, and all the circumſtances of this earthquake. On the evening of the 5th, immediately before the earthquake began, ſhe appeared as if ſhe were beſides herſelf, crying out, with all her force, *Now it is juſt coming*, to the great aſtoniſhment of all who heard her.

Viſion of Mother *Mary*.

Laſtly, on the ſame day, mother *Mary* of the Incarnation, the illuſtrious foundreſs of the Urſuline nuns of *New France*, who was far from being a weak perſon, after ſeveral warnings from heaven of the impending event, which ſhe communicated to F. *Lallemant* her director, about half an hour after five in the evening, as ſhe was in prayer thought ſhe ſaw our Lord wroth with *Canada*, and that ſhe was moved by ſome ſupernatural power to demand juſtice of him for all the crimes committed in this province ; and that all ſhe could do to obtain ſome mitigation of this puniſhment, was, to put up fervent prayers that the ſouls might not periſh with the bodies. Immediately afterwards, ſhe felt an inward aſſurance that the divine wrath was on the point of breaking out, and that the contempt of the ordinances of the church, was the chief cauſe why it was kindled. She perceived almoſt, in the ſame inſtant, four devils at the four corners of the city of *Quebec*, agitating the earth with great violence, and a perſon of a majeſtic preſence, who from time to time let looſe the reins to their fury, and then withheld them.

Deſcription of the earthquake.

At the ſame moment, the heavens being perfectly ſerene, a noiſe was heard all over the city, like that of a great fire, which frightened all the people out of their dwellings. Then all the houſes were ſhaken and rocked to ſuch a degree, that they almoſt touched the ground, ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other, the doors opening and ſhutting of themſelves with a mighty noiſe, all the bells ringing without hands, and the timber of the paliſades bounding to and fro ; the walls were ſplit, the beams fell out and were bent, and the domeſtic animals made the moſt frightful howlings ; the ſurface of the earth had a motion like that of the ſea, the trees were twiſted together, and many of them torn up by the roots, and toſſed to a great diſtance. With theſe ſights were heard all ſorts of noiſes ; ſometimes of a raging ſea breaking its dykes, ſometimes of a great number of chariots and carriages rolling over the pavement, and ſometimes of mountains of

rock or marble opening and ſplitting. A thick duſt aroſe like ſmoke, ſo that an univerſal conflagration was apprehended; ſome imagined they heard the cries of *Indians*, and apprehended the *Iroquois* were falling upon all parts of the colony.

Various phenomena. The fright was ſo great and general, that both men and animals appeared as if ſtruck with thunder; nothing was to be heard but ſhrieking lamentations; people fled every where without knowing whither they went; and on which ſide ſoever they paſſed, met what they ſtrove to ſhun. The fields preſented every where precipices and gulphs, and people expected the earth to open under them every moment, whole mountains were plucked up by the roots, and thrown to a diſtance and placed in new ſituations; ſome were carried into the midſt of rivers, and ſtopped their courſe, and others were ſunk ſo deep that the tops of the trees on their ſummits were not to be ſeen. Trees were toſſed upright into the air, as if a mine had ſprung under them, and ſome re-planted with their branches in the ground and their roots aloft. There was no more ſafety on water than on land. Several ſprings and rivulets were dried up, the waters of others were impregnated with ſulphur, and the beds where ſome had flowed could no longer be ſeen. Here the waters were turned red, there yellow, and thoſe of the great river from *Quebec* to *Tadouſſac*, that is, for the ſpace of thirty leagues, were grown perfectly white. Nothing was to be heard but a continual din, and people imagined they ſaw goblins and phantoms of fire with lighted torches in their hands. Flames aroſe which took all ſorts of ſhapes, as of pikes, launces, and burning brands, and fell upon the tops of houſes without ſetting them on fire. Cries of wailing and lamentation augmented the horror from time to time. Porpoiſes and ſea cows were heard to howl near the *Three Rivers*, where never any ſuch fiſhes had been ſeen; and theſe howlings had no reſemblance to the cries of any known animal. To conclude, for a tract of three hundred leagues from Eaſt to Weſt, the earth, the rivers, and the ſea-coaſts were long, but at different intervals, in the vaſt motion mentioned by the prophet, ſpeaking of the wonders which accompanied the coming up out of *Egypt*.

Effects, numbers, and duration of ſhocks. The effects of the earthquake were various to an infinite degree, and never was there more reaſon to fear that nature was deſtroying her works, and that the end of the world was at hand. The firſt ſhock laſted half an hour almoſt without interruption, but began to abate after a quarter of an hour. Towards eight in the evening of the ſame day, there was another ſhock, equally violent with the firſt, and in half an hour two more. Some reckoned to the number of thirty two the night following, ſome of which were very violent. It is poſſible that the horror of the night and the general confuſion might increaſe their number, and cauſe them to appear more conſiderable than they really were. Even in the intervals of the ſhocks people were in the ſame condition as in a veſſel at anchor; which might alſo be the effect of a diſordered imagination. What is certain, is, that many perſons felt the ſame ſqueamiſhneſs and giddineſs which are uſual at ſea with ſuch as are not accuſtomed to this element. On the morning of the ſixth, about three of the clock, was a very rude and long ſhock. At *Tadouſſac* it rained aſhes for three hours together; in another place the *Indians*, who had left their cabins at the beginning of theſe agitations; on their return, found a large pool of water in their places. Half way between *Quebec* and *Tadouſſac*; two mountains were laid level with the ground, and the earth that fell from them formed a cape projecting half a quarter of a league into the great river. Two *Frenchmen* coming from *Gaſpé* felt nothing of it till they came over againſt the *Saguenay*, when, though there was not a breath of wind, their ſhallop was toſſed as if on a ſtormy ſea. Not being able to conjecture whence this could proceed, they caſt their eyes towards the ſhore, when they perceived a mountain ſkipping, in the language of the prophet like a ram, and which, after ſome time, whirling round like a whirlwind, ſunk down, and at laſt entirely diſappeared. A ſhip, which followed the ſhallop, was no leſs agitated, and the oldeſt tailors could not ſtand but by a hold, as it happens when a ſhip rolls greatly; and the captain ordering to caſt anchor, the cable broke.

Surpriſing circumſtances and effects. Within a ſmall diſtance of *Quebec*, a fire, a full league in length, appeared in broad day-light, which coming from the North, afterwards croſſed the river, and diſappeared over the Iſle of *Orleans*. Oppoſite *Cape Tourmente* floods of ſubterraneous waters

waters ruſhed from the tops of the mountains, and carried all before them. Above *Quebec* a river left its channel, part of which became dry, its higheſt banks in ſome parts ſinking to a level with the water, which continued mixed with mud and of the colour of ſulphur above three months. *New England* and *New Holland* (now *New York*) ſuffered in the general confuſion, and, as did all this vaſt extent of country, with this particularity, that in the time of the greateſt ſhocks they perceived a kind of pulſation like that of an intermitting pulſe, with unequal beatings, but beginning every where preciſely at the ſame inſtant. Sometimes the ſhocks were a ſort of elevating, at other times a ſort of balancing motion, more or leſs violent; ſometimes very briſk, and at others increaſing by degrees, and none of them ending without ſome ſenſible effect. In places where the great river had rapid falls it became perfectly ſtill water, and in others the reverſe. Rocks aroſe in the midſt of rivers, and a man walking in the fields, perceived all of a ſudden the earth opening behind him, and as he fled, the yawnings ſeemed to run after him. The agitation was generally leſs on the tops of mountains, but an inceſſant rumbling was heard in thoſe places.

Productions of repentance.

What is perfectly aſtoniſhing, is, that amidſt ſo dreadful a wreck, not a ſoul periſhed, God being willing, ſays my author, not to deſtroy, but to convert ſinners. Thus nothing was to be ſeen but an univerſal repentance, every one making the examen of their conſcience with tears and compunction of heart, the moſt ſcandalous ſinners declared openly the abominations of their paſt lives, enemies were reconciled, all criminal familiarities were at an end, and the traffic of ſpirituous liquors, the firſt ſpring of all the evil, abandoned, faſting, alms, pilgrimages, with the frequentation of the ſacraments, were all the ſtudy, and, in ſhort, nothing was omitted to diſarm the wrath of heaven, which at at laſt relented.

Things recover their priſtine ſtate.

The fears of a general ſterility and epidemical diſorders, which many apprehended, were ſoon found to be groundleſs, and the earth by degrees recovered its former ſtate, where the appearance of it had not been totally changed by ſo many violent concuſſions. The *Iroquois* ſtirred not all this while, and when the confuſion ceaſed, they made new propoſals of peace, which were interrupted by ſome evil reports, that had got footing among the cantons.

New governor arrives at *Quebec*.

The biſhop of *Petrea*, and M. *de Meſy*, appointed to relieve the Baron *d'Avaugour* in the government of *New France*, had newly arrived at *Quebec* with troops. They were accompanied by the Sieur *Gaudais*, appointed commiſſary on the part of the king to take poſſeſſion in his name of all *New France*, which the company of *Canada* had yielded up to him *February* 4, 1663; by a hundred families to people the country; and by ſeveral officers civil and military.

His adminiſtration.

The commiſſary begun with taking the oaths of fidelity of all the inhabitants, and afterwards regulated the police, and made ſeveral ordinances with regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice. Before this time there had properly been no court of juſtice in *Canada*, the governours general judging cauſes in an abſolute or ſovereign manner. No body ever thought of appealing from their ſentences, but theſe were ſeldom pronounced without a previous recourſe to the method of arbitration, and their deciſions were always dictated by that beſt and moſt ſupreme of all laws, good ſenſe and the law of nature. Beſides, the natives of *Canada* were far from being litigious, and choſe rather to loſe ſomewhat of their right than their time and money at law. At firſt indeed they ſeemed to have every thing in common, at leaſt it was very long before any thing was known to be kept under lock for ſecurity. Thus the precautions which the prince took for the eſtabliſhing of juſtice were the epoch of its ruin, by introducing the ſpirit of chicanery, and the love of law-ſuits.

Courts of juſtice.

It is true that as early as the year 1640 there had been a Grand Seneſchal of *New France*, and at the *Three Rivers* was a tribunal ſubordinate to that of the military magiſtrate, who, however, appears to have been wholly dependant on the governours general, who were always inveſted with the right of adminiſtring juſtice in their own perſons, in caſes of appeal, which were common enough. In matters of moment they aſſembled a kind of council, compoſed of the grand ſeneſchal, the ſuperior of the Jeſuits, who, before the arrival of the biſhop, was the only ſuperior eccleſiaſtic in the country, and ſome of the principal inhabitants, to whom they gave the quality of counſellors.

Thus

Eſtabliſhment of the council of *Canada*.

Thus, in 1651, when the Sieur *Godefroy* was ſent, with F. *Dreueillettes* to *New England*, to treat about a perpetual peace between the two colonies. He had the title of councellor in the council of *New France* given him in his letters of credence, though this council was not permanent, but eſtabliſhed by the governor general, by virtue of the power given him by the king, and by him changed as often as he judged proper. It was then in the year 1663, and not before, that the king cauſed the council of *Canada* to be fixed by an edict in *March* of the ſame year, ordering that the council ſhould conſiſt of M. *de Meſy*, governor general, M. *de Laval*, biſhop of *Petrea*, apoſtolical vicar of *New France*, M. *Robert*, the intendant, and of four counſellors to be appointed, continued, or removed, at the pleaſure of theſe three miniſters. M. *Robert*, counſellor of ſtate, had been named this very year intendant of juſtice, police, finances, and marine for *New France*. But, as he never went to *Canada*, M. *Talon*, who arrived here in 1665, is the firſt who exerciſed this office. M. *Ducheſneau*, who ſucceeded him in 1675, brought an order of the king, by virtue of which the intendant was to officiate as firſt preſident in the council, leaving, however, the firſt ſeat to the governor general, and the ſecond to the biſhop. Two more counſellors were added at the ſame time, and all the members of the council had commiſſions from the court.

Intendant's office and dignity.

New counſellor's ſalaries.

This empowering the intendant to act as firſt preſident, was much reſented by the governor general, whoſe remonſtrances on this ſubject were not regarded. And, by an arret of the council of ſtate in 1680, it was ordered that in all deeds and writings of the council, the governor and intendant ſhould aſſume no other quality beſides that of their office. In 1704, four new councellors were created, one clerk, and three laymen: So that at preſent they are twelve in number, including the biſhop. The perſon intitled the firſt councellor, has double the ſalary of the others, he is named by the court, and his place is only conſidered as honorary, having no particular function. His annual ſalary is eight hundred livres, the five oldeſt counſellors have four hundred, and the reſt nothing, and they take no fees. The procurator general, and head regiſter, have alſo ſalaries, but very moderate.

Council regulated, caſes of recuſation.

The council is held regularly every *Monday* in the palace, which is the reſidence of the intendant, whoſe office it is alſo to fix the day and hour of their meeting, on extraordinary occaſions, and to notify the ſame to the governor general by the chief uſher. Juſtice is adminiſtred here according to the ſtatutes of the kingdom, and cuſtoms of *Paris*. In *June* 1679, the king made ſome regulations in the council by an edict, which has ſince bore the name of *The Reduction of the Code*, in that country. Some new difficulties were afterwards ſtarted with reſpect to judging in caſes of challenges, or exceptions at law, which were explained by another edict of *March* 1685, in which it was further declared, that the actions in which any officer of the council was intereſted, ſhould be removed at the requeſt of one of the parties, before the intendant, who ſhould determine, in ſuch caſes, with judges ſummoned by him for that purpoſe: Laſtly, by the ſame edict, the council was authoriſed to judge criminal caſes, and five of the counſellors were to make a quorum.

Inferior courts of juſtice.

There are moreover three inferior courts of juſtice in *Canada*, which ſit at *Quebec*, the *Three Rivers*, and *Montreal*. Theſe are compoſed of a lieutenant general, a ſublieutenant, and the king's procurator. Their appointments were made by a declaration of *May* 12, 1578. The notaries, uſhers, and ſerjeants, have alſo ſalaries, without which they could not ſubſiſt, their fees being next to nothing in ſo poor and thinly peopled a colony.

Succeeded to the king.

Till the year 1692, the criminal juriſdiction of *Montreal* belonged to the ſuperiors of *St Sulpicius*, in quality of the lords of the ſoil. But then they yielded it up to the king, on condition, that they ſhould continue the ſame power within the precincts of their ſeminary, and their farm of *St Gabriel*, with the perpetual and unaliable property of the regiſterſhip of the royal criminal tribunal, which ſhould afterwards be eſtabliſhed in the iſland, together with the nomination of the firſt judge. This had the royal aſſent ſignified by the edict, which eſtabliſhed the new court, dated in *March* the year following, except the laſt article, which was *pro hoc tempore* for this time only. The ſupreme council of *Quebec*, ſerved for a model to thoſe of the iſlands of *Martinico* and *St Domingo*, and of the country of *Louiſiana*.

Canada,

We have ſeen in what a weak and languiſhing condition the colony was left by the company of the hundred aſſociates incorporated, in 1628, for the ſettlement of *Canada*, though one of the moſt powerful that ever was formed, whether with regard to the number and rank of its members, or to the privileges granted them. They ſoon grew weary of the expence; and, from the year 1644, they abandoned the fur trade, which was almoſt the only advantage they reaped from it, to the inhabitants, reſerving to themſelves, for their right of lordſhip, an annual homage of a thouſand beavers. Company of *Canada* fails.

At laſt, finding themſelves reduced to the number of forty five aſſociates, they made a total reſignation of all their rights in 1662 to the king, who ſome time after included *New France* in the grant which he made of the *French* colonies in *America*, in favour of the *Weſt India* company, with the right of naming governors and other officers. It is true that, as this new company were not acquainted with perſons proper for filling the chief poſts, they requeſted the king to provide them, till they ſhould be in a condition to make uſe of the privilege he had granted them; in conſequence of which requeſt M. *de Meſy* was named governor general, and M. *Robert* intendant of *New France*. *De Meſy* was ſucceeded by M. *de Courcelles*, who had orders to tranſport inhabitants, and the regiment of *Carignan Salieres*, in order to reduce the *Iroquois* to reaſon. A great number of families, with a great multitude of mechanics, and hired ſervants, the firſt horſes ever ſeen in *Canada*, with cattle, ſheep, and, in ſhort, a more conſiderable colony than that which they were going to ſupply was tranſported on this occaſion. Reſign their rights to the king. Colony receives ſupplies.

The viceroy loſt no time, but placing himſelf at the head of the troops, led them to the entry of *Richelieu*, in the province of *New York*, where he employed them in building three ſeveral forts at the ſame time. The firſt was placed on the ſpot where that of *Richelieu* had formerly ſtood, ſince called, as alſo the river, by the name of *Sorel*, from a captain of the regiment of *Carignan*, who had the charge of building it. The ſecond was erected at the foot of the riſt, or water-fall, formerly mentioned, as you ſail up the river. This was called *Fort St Lewis*; but M. *de Chambly*, captain of the ſame regiment, having ſince bought the land on which it was ſituated, the whole canton, together with the ſtone fort ſince built on the ruins of the old fort, bear the name of *Chambly*. M. *de Salieres* took upon himſelf the conduct of the third, called *St Thereſa*, from the feſtival upon which it was finiſhed. It ſtands three leagues higher than the ſecond, and this the colonel choſe for his own poſt. Theſe works were compleated with great expedition, and the *Iroquois* were at firſt greatly terrified at their erection, but ſoon recovered from their conſternation; and though their paſſage into the colony this way was intercluded, they preſently opened themſelves ſeveral others. That of *Chambly*, however, covers the colony of *Canada* ſufficiently on the ſide of *New York*, and the lower *Iroquois*. Three new Forts built.

I find about this time a remonſtrance of M. *Talon*, the intendant, to the king, complaining of the miſchiefs that the colony underwent by leaving it to the management of a company, and declaring the advantages that would reſult from the king's reſumption of it into his own diſpoſal; as alſo an order from court, by M. *Colbert*, for keeping the habitations as cloſe together as poſſible, in order to ſtrengthen the colony, which was weakened, as they imagined, by ſeparating them at too great a diſtance, and reducing the dwellings as much as poſſible into the form of the pariſhes of *Old France*; and, laſtly, the diſcovery of two iron mines in the neighbourhood of *Champlain* and *Cape Magdalen*, two pariſhes ſituated beyond the *Three Rivers*. They had great expectations alſo, from a tannery, the firſt trial of which was abundantly ſucceſsful. But what moſt flattered their hopes, was, the freedom of commerce publiſhed in the year 1668. This year is alſo famous for a number of miſſions ſettled amongſt the different *Indian* nations, particularly the *Iroquois*. Remonſtrances, orders, diſcoveries, miſſion.

New France now enjoyed perfect repoſe for the firſt time ſince its ſettlement, its governors neglecting nothing that might contribute to its advancement. The beſt part of the regiment of *Carignan Salieres* had remained here, and almoſt all the ſoldiers were become planters, having had their diſcharge on that condition. Six companies of the ſame regiment, which had returned to *France* after the *Iroquois* war, were ordered back, not only to ſtrengthen the moſt important poſts, but to increaſe the number of inhabitants. Several of the officers had grants of lands, with the right of lordſhip. Almoſt all of them ſettled and married in the country, where their poſ- Colony at peace and proſperous.

terity ſtill ſubſiſts. Moſt part of them were gentlemen, whence *New France* has a more numerous nobleſs than any other *French* colony, and perhaps more than all the reſt taken together. Laſtly, the lands, in every part where cleared, were found to be very rich. Thus the new inhabitants, vying with each other in virtue, induſtry, and the love of labour, were ſoon in a condition to ſubſiſt, and the colony received great acceſſions of ſtrength, and numbers of inhabitants.

Quebec made a biſhopric.

In 1670, the church of *Quebec* was erected into a biſhopric. The great diſputes which aroſe about its immediate dependance on the holy ſee, on which the Pope was inflexible, occaſioned that affair to remain ſo long undetermined. This, however, hinders not the biſhopric of *Quebec* from being like that of *Puy*, which holds immediately of the Pope, in ſome ſort united to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of *France*. The king, for the endowment of the new biſhopric and chapter of the cathedral, united to them two months, or one ſixth of the revenue of the abbey of *Maubec*; and M. *de St Valiér*, ſucceſſor to M. *de Laval*, has ſince further obtained the re-union of the abbey of *Beneventum*, partly to the biſhopric, and partly to the chapter.

Great mortality from the ſmall pox.

The ſame year an epidemical diſtemper made ſad devaſtation in *Canada*, and almoſt totally depopulated thoſe vaſt countries. The *Attikamegues* particularly have never appeared ſince, and if any of them remain, they muſt have mixed with other nations with whom the *French* are altogether unacquainted. At the ſame time *Tadouſſac*, where had never appeared fewer than twelve hundred *Indians* in trading time, began to be totally deſerted, as well as the *Three Rivers*, whence the *Algonquins* removed to *Cape Magdalen*, where the *French* have ſtill a poſt, but *Tadouſſac* remains deſolate, and entirely abandoned. The ſmall pox was the chief cauſe of this mortality, and ſeveral years afterwards the town of *Syllery* was quite depopulated. Of fifteen hundred perſons ſeized with that diſtemper, not one eſcaped. In this year alſo we are to date the foundation of the *Huron* village of *Loretto*.

Iroquois miſſion.

In the following year was ſettled the *Iroquois* miſſion of the *Fall of St Lewis*, a colony of that nation converted by the *French* miſſionaries, and deſirous of ſettling amongſt them for the ſake of religion. On the other hand, many nations of the *Algonquin* language, who had formerly been protected by the *French* colony from the ravages of their enemies, expreſſing their gratitude and attachment to them in a more extraordinary manner at this time, that politic people, always awake to their own intereſt, laid hold of this opportunity to eſtabliſh the rights of that crown over the moſt diſtant parts of *Canada*.

Perrot *French* agent with the *Indians*.

With this view one *Perrot*, a man of good family and ſenſe, and ſome tincture of learning, and beſides accuſtomed to travel, was ſelected to execute this important commiſſion. His neceſſities had thrown him into the ſervice of the Jeſuits, which gave him frequent opportunities of dealing with the *Indians*, and learning their language. He had acquired their eſteem, and by degrees ſo effectually inſinuated himſelf into their affections, that at laſt he could perſuade them into any thing as he pleaſed. After he had got the neceſſary inſtructions, he took his progreſs and viſited all the Northern nations with whom the *French* had any commerce, whom he invited to come in the ſpring following to the *Fall of St Mary*, where the great *Onontbio* of the *French* was to ſend them one of his captains, who ſhould declare his pleaſure. They all gave conſent to ſend deputies, according to his deſire. He then proceeded further Weſtward, and turning towards the South purſued his journey into the *Britiſh* territories as far as *Chicagou* at the bottom of lake *Michigan*, where the *Miamis Indians* then held their reſidence.

French take formal poſſeſſion of countries.

The chief of this people, who was able to bring into the field an army of between four and five thouſand men, gave him a good reception, and preſented him with the pipe, employing the *Poutewatamis*, another *Indian* nation, to act as his deputies in the general aſſembly, at which moſt of the *Indians*, at leaſt thoſe in the *French* intereſt, appeared by their deputies. On this occaſion the Sieur *de St Luſſon*, as ſubdelegate of the intendant of *New France*, by virtue of a ſpecial commiſſion, pretended to take poſſeſſion of all theſe countries for the *French* king. Next year was built the fort at *Cataraqui*, otherwiſe Fort *Frontenac*.

Fort *Frontenac* built.

Two different bodies of men, the laſt of them conſiderable, had been tranſported from *Old France*, though not enough to ſecure the *Canadians* from the fears of the Five Nations. The Fort *des Sables*, and that at *Niagara*, were built on this occaſion. The *Iroquois* however began their uſual incurſions next year into *Canada*, ſpreading

ſpreading every where ſuch terror and deſolation, that the *French* governor, in a letter to the Marquis *de Seignelay*, ſays that nothing but the extraordinary providence of the Almighty could poſſibly have ſaved *Canada* from deſtruction. I find that the whole force which *Canada* was capable of raiſing this year, was only eight hundred men, beſides the regulars, of whom they made but ſmall account, as they were utterly unacquainted with the *Indian* manner of fighting, which conſiſted in annoying the enemy, whilſt they ſecured themſelves from their ſhot, by ſkulking behind trees and thickets. Their miſſionaries, however, did what all the *French* in *North America* could never have effected, by diſarming the fury of the Five Nations. *Iroquois* pacified by miſſionaries.

The revolution happening in the mean time, war was declared againſt *France*, where a deſign was formed to begin hoſtilities in *America* with the conqueſt of *New York*. For this effect Count *Frontenac* was made governor general of *Canada*, the projects then in agitation, and the ſtate of affairs in that country, requiring at their head a perſon of experience and reſolution, acquainted with the places, and fit to tranſact matters with the *Indians*. His inſtructions related to the driving the *Engliſh* from *Hudſon's Bay* and *Acadia*, but chiefly to the enterpriſe againſt *New York*. This plan, otherwiſe in all appearance too well digeſted to have failed, was however diſconcerted by two things, which it is impoſſible to guard againſt, the inconſtancy of the winds, and the unexpected obſtacles occurring to thoſe who were to execute the different parts of it, which prevented them from bringing things to bear in good time, ſo as to act with union. *French* deſign againſt *New York* miſcarries.

Hoſtilities ſtill continued between the *French* and *Iroquois*, though with moſt advantage on the ſide of the former, till 1690, when Count *Frontenac* was informed that an *Iroquois* and *Engliſh* army was employed at *Lake St Sacrament*, in making preparations to attack *Montreal*; on which advice nothing was omitted to put the place in a good poſture of defence. Almoſt at the ſame time news was brought, that a fleet of thirty ſhips had ſet ſail from *Boſton*, in order to attack *Quebec* by the river of *St Laurence*, and had been out upwards of ſix weeks, which cauſed the more ſurpriſe, as the *French* had never ſo much as heard of the equipment of an armament at that place. The governor had ſcarce embarked, when he was acquainted that the *Engliſh* fleet, to the number of thirty four ſail, were already at the *Iſle au Coudres*, fifteen leagues from *Quebec*. And ſome *French* authors are of opinion that had the governor delayed but three days longer his arrival at that capital, he would have found it in the hands of the *Engliſh*; or, that, if their fleet had not been detained by contrary winds, or had been better provided with good pilots, that city had certainly been taken before they could have any information at *Montreal* that it was beſieged. If this be true, as there is all the reaſon in the world to believe, we are not to wonder at the encomiums which the *French* writers beſtow on Count *Frontenac*; and it is ſaid, with great juſtice, that never did ſurpriſe do greater honour to a general, or cover with more ſhame thoſe who ought to have made their advantage of it. *Engliſh* expected on againſt *Quebec*.

The firſt thing the governor did, after the confirmation of this news, was to order the Chevalier *de Caillieres* to haſten to *Quebec* with all poſſible diligence, with all his troops, except ſome companies left for the defence of *Montreal*, and to cauſe all the inhabitants he could poſſibly get together on his way to follow him. The count then marched without halting to *Quebec*, where he arrived in the night of *October* 14, and learnt that the *Engliſh* fleet was at the lower end of the paſſage of the *Iſle of Orleans*. He was entirely ſatisfied with the diſpoſitions the fort major had made, and the condition in which he had put the place. This officer had got into it a conſiderable number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood, who teſtified much courage and reſolution, and, though he had no more than five days to repair the fortifications, he had, however, left not one weak place in all the city, which he had not ſecured againſt any ſurpriſe. The general cauſed ſome additional intrenchments to be made where neceſſary, and repeated the orders which the major had ſo judiciouſly given, for a body of militia, which covered *Quebec* towards the road, not to quit their poſts, till ſuch time as they ſhould ſee the enemy make a deſcent, and attack the body of the place, in which caſe they ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to march upon the firſt notice. M. *de Longueil* had been ſent, with a body of *Hurons* and *Abenaquis Indians*, to obſerve the motions of the fleet. All the upper banks of the river of *St Laurence* were well lined with troops, the inhabitants ſhewing Preparation for its defence.

very

every where a firm resolution to exert themselves with vigour. Thus the *English* could not send so much as a single boat to shore, without being exposed to the fire of their musquetry. And, lastly, bodies of militia were constantly arriving from *Montreal* and the *Three Rivers*, and all equally resolute with those in the neighbourhood of the capital.

French reconnoitre the *English* fleet.

On the fifteenth, the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, commander of the troops, set out early in the morning to go on the discovery, and to charge the enemy if they should make an attempt to land, with express injunctions from count *Frontenac* not to lose sight of them, and to send him advice continually of all their motions; all which he executed perfectly well. As they expected some ships from *France*, and as it was very reasonably apprehended that they might inadvertently fall into the hands of the enemy, the governor general dispatched, the same day, two canoes well manned through the lesser channel of the *Isle of Orleans*, with orders to sail as far down the river as possible, to meet those ships, and to warn them of their danger in the present conjuncture.

Augment their fortifications.

He caused men to work, at the same time, with all expedition on a battery of eight pieces of cannon on the eminence near the citadel, which was finished on the morrow. Hence the fortifications, begun at the palace, on the banks of the river *St Charles*, ascended towards the high town, which they inclosed, and ended at the mountain on the side of *Cape Diamond*. There was also raised a palisade, which reached from the beach to the cloyster of the seminary, where it was terminated by inaccessible rocks, called *the Sailor's leap*, near which was a battery of three guns. A second palisade was also erected above the former, and ended at the same place, in order to cover the musqueteers. In the lower town were two batteries, each of three eighteen pounders, disposed in the intervals of the batteries of the high town. The avenues of the place, not defended by gates, were barricaded with massy beams, and gabions, mounted with pattereros. The road which winds from the low to the high town, was cut by three different intrenchments with gabions, and a kind of chevaux de frize. In the course of the siege a second battery was erected at the *Sailor's leap*, and a third at the gate which leads to the river *St Charles*. Lastly, several pieces of cannon were disposed at proper distances round the high town, and particularly on the mount of a windmil, which served for a cavalier.

English fleet in sight of *Quebec*.

On the morning of the sixteenth *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, and reported that he had left the *English* fleet three leagues from the city, at anchor, in a place called *the withered tree*, and indeed it was plainly seen from the heights after day light. It consisted of thirty four sail, of different force and dimensions, and, according to report, had on board three thousand land forces. In advancing up the stream, the smaller vessels stretched along the *Beaupré* shore, between the isle of *Orleans* and the *Lesser River*, the others keeping the middle of the channel; and about ten the whole fleet came to an anchor.

Admiral summons the place.

Immediately a boat was dispatched from the fleet, carrying a white flag, and a trumpet, who was met half way, blind-folded, and in that manner conducted into the fort. He was then, after being uncovered, led into a magnificent apartment, in which were assembled the governour general, the bishop, and the intendant, surrounded by a crowd of officers, which threw the messenger into some confusion, occasioned, according to the *French* writers, not only by the sight of so brilliant a company, but also on seeing a place in so warlike a posture, which, from the report of some prisoners, had been represented, but a few days before, as without either general, troops, or fortifications; so that Brigadeer *Phipps* made no doubt of sleeping in *Quebec* the night after casting anchor before it, as he expressed himself to his men with abundance of presumption. But it ought to be observed that the trumpet, before he arrived at the place where the governor was, had been carried quite round the place, where every one was thoroughly busy, and hard at work, to make him conceive the higher opinion of its strength. The summons, requiring the surrender of the place, was delivered in the name of their majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

Answer of the officers and governor.

The answer was in terms testifying the highest indignation; and some of the company were for treating the bearer of the summons as the messenger of a pirate, not only, said they, on account of *Phipps*'s being in arms against his lawful sovereign, meaning *James* II. but also as that general had violated the capitulation of *Port Royal*,

Royal, which he had lately taken, by retaining priſoners ſome of the garriſon, contrary to his faith given, and to the law of nations. The anſwer of Count *Frontenac*, though more moderate, was no leſs ſmart. And turning to the trumpet, who had given him an hour to make his anſwer, "I will not, ſaid he, cauſe you to wait long for my anſwer, which is this: "I know not any king of the name of *William*; but I know the *Prince of Orange* to be an uſurper, who has violated the moſt ſacred rights, both of blood and of religion, by dethroning the king his father-in-law. I know no other lawful ſovereign in *England*, but *James* II. Sir *William Phipps* ought not to be ſurpriſed at the hoſtilities committed by the *French* and their allies; as he ought to have known that the king my maſter, having received the king of *England* under his protection, would order me in conſequence to make war on a nation who have rebelled againſt their lawful ſovereign. Could he think, had he even offered me more tolerable terms (thoſe were to ſurrender at diſcretion) that I could have been capable of accepting them? Could he believe that ſo many brave men would have conſented to them, and adviſe me to truſt the word of a man who has violated the capitulation made with the governor of *Acadia*; who is wanting in point of fidelity to his lawful prince; who has forgotten all his almoſt numberleſs favours, to follow the cauſe of a foreigner, who, whilſt he would perſuade the world that he has no other view than to become the deliverer of *England*, and the Defender of the Faith, has deſtroyed the laws and privileges of the kingdom, and overturned the Church of *England*; and which I make no doubt but the divine juſtice, which *Phipps* calls to witneſs, will one day puniſh with ſignal ſeverity?" The trumpet deſiring to have this anſwer in writing, *Frontenac* ſaid, "I am going to ſend your maſter my anſwer from the mouths of my cannon; he ſhall know what it is to ſend a man of honour ſuch a ſummons."

When he had done ſpeaking, he made a ſignal for blind folding the trumpet, who was inſtantly diſmiſſed, and the moment he had got on board began the fireing from one of the batteries of the lower town; ſo that the *Engliſh* general ſaw himſelf obliged to beſiege a place in form, which, he concluded, would not have had the boldneſs to make any defence. What might be looked upon as an ill omen, the firſt ſhot ſtruck down the admiral's flag, which being born along by the tide, ſome *Canadians* threw themſelves into the river, and ſeized it, in ſpite of a continual fire made upon them from the fleet, and carried it in triumph to the cathedral, where, if I am rightly informed, it ſtill remains.

The trumpet diſmiſſed.

An ill omen.

The chief object of the governor was to draw the *Engliſh* to croſs the river *St Charles*, in hopes of attacking the place on the only ſide which offered any probability of ſucceſs. The reaſon of his policy was, that as this river was only fordable at low water, when once the *Engliſh* troops had paſſed it, they might be engaged in order of battle without any great hazard; and, ſhould they be obliged to give ground, they could never be able to rally, being under a neceſſity of marching half a league up to the knees in mud, before they could get to their boats. Should the *French*, on the other hand, croſs the river to attack the enemy, they muſt, as the governor well ſaw, be expoſed to the ſame diſadvantage and hazard. The former reaſoning might alſo be retorted, by ſuppoſing that, had the *French* been beaten under their walls, and on the ſide next the city, the conquerors might have entered it pell mell with the runaways. The general, however, was ſo confident of the bravery of his troops, that he never apprehended this inconvenience; beſides, as he did not intend to leave the place intirely without troops, he would always be able to ſupport his own people, and make good his retreat under any diſadvantages. What happened ſoon after, juſtified his opinion.

Stratagem of the *French* general.

On the eighteenth, at noon, the boats with about fifteen hundred men rowed to the ſhore, and landed them without oppoſition; on which Count *Frontenac* ſent a detachment of the militia, to the number of about three hundred, to haraſs them. As the ground that way is ſwampy and boggy, and intangled with ſhrubs and underwood, and rough with rocks, as the tide was out, and they muſt march through the mud to get at the enemy, they could only attack them by platoons, and by way of ſkirmiſhing: The ſame inconveniences lay in the way of the *Engliſh*. Both ſides therefore were obliged to fight in the *Indian* manner, which, as I am told, not a little embarraſſed the troops which had landed, the *French* ſhifting and ſkulking from rock to rock in places which were perfectly familiar to them, and mightily galling the *Engliſh*,

Engliſh land and ſkirmiſh.

who, as they were drawn up in batallions, could not ſtir from their place, whilſt the others, who took aim, and ſcarce ever miſſed, could not be ſeen. As this kind of fighting had put the troops of the invaders in ſome diſorder, it was judged proper to beat the retreat for that day. The *French*, however, were not without ſome loſs of men, amongſt whom were ſome perſons of conſiderable note.

Fleet cannonades *Quebec*.

The ſame evening the four largeſt ſhips in the navy came to an anchor before the city. The rear-admiral, with the blue flag, was ſtationed on the left, oppoſite to the *Sailor's leap*, the admiral to the right of him, and the vice-admiral ſomewhat lower, while the fourth, with the flag of admiral in chief, advanced towards *Cape Diamond*. On this a great fire enſued on both ſides, the fleet directing their cannon chiefly againſt the high town, but with little damage. About eight o'clock at night the fire ceaſed, and began again the next morning, though with leſs briſkneſs on the part of the fleet. Some time after the ſhip of the rear-admiral had been ſo damaged by the batteries at the *Sailor's leap*, and the battery under it in the lower town towards the left, that ſhe was obliged to withdraw. The admiral was not long behind her, having received ſeveral ſhot under water, and above twenty in her hull, her rigging cut to pieces, her main-maſt almoſt carried away, and many of her people killed or wounded. The two other ſhips held out ſome time after, but at noon they gave over firing, and at five in the evening drew off to take ſhelter out of the reach of the guns of the fort in the bay of *Mothers*, behind *Cape Diamond*. They did not, however, remain long in that ſtation, where they were expoſed to the fire of the muſquetry, which killed them a great many men, and obliged them to withdraw to a greater diſtance.

Actions of the land forces.

The *Engliſh* troops remained quiet in their camp till the twentieth, the *French* ceaſing to moleſt them, when, after beating to arms, and remaining in order of battle till two in the afternoon, they made ſome motions as if they would march towards the city, with platoons on their wings, and *Indians* in their van. They coaſted for ſome time the River *St Charles* in good order, when they were oppoſed by a body of volunteers, who cut them ſhort, and ſkirmiſhed as they had done on the firſt attack. The fire of theſe troops made them retire to a wood, whence they fired very briſkly, and the *French* retired in good order, but with the loſs of ſome of their beſt officers. During this action Count *Frontenac* advanced at the head of three batallions of his troops, and drew them up on the banks of the leſſer river, determining to croſs it, if the volunteers had been too much preſſed. The *Engliſh* received five field pieces from on board the ſhips in the night following, and the next day they moved forwards with a deſign to batter the city in breach, but were met by ſeveral bodies of militia and volunteers, who, after feigned retreats in order to draw them into ambuſcades, which they had laid for them, at laſt took poſt in a houſe which had been fortified with paliſades, and was advantageouſly ſeated on an eminence, where they made ſo briſk a fire, that the army was obliged to halt. The *Engliſh* then ſet about battering the houſe with their artillery; but their cannon, it ſeems, were ſo ill ſerved, that it did little or no damage. They continued, however, firing till night, both with artillery and ſmall arms, during which time they were anſwered by the battery which commanded the leſſer river. After this they retired, and, as we are told, with conſiderable loſs, and at firſt in tolerable good order, till the great bell of the cathedral ringing as if it had been the ſignal for all the troops in the place to ſally out upon them, they were ſeized with a panic, and made what haſte they could to regain their camp. Whilſt theſe things paſſed on the ſide of the little river, two men of war that were above *Quebec* fell down with the tide to their old ſtation, and as they paſſed the city exchanged ſome ſhot with it.

Engliſh attack a fortification in vain.

Decamp.

On the night of the twenty firſt the *Engliſh* made uſe of the extreme darkneſs, and the rain which then fell to break up their camp, and get on board, leaving their cannon behind them.

Cauſes of a diſappointment defeating the enterprize.

What probably diſconcerted the *Engliſh* general, was his ſeeing all the troops of the colony aſſembled at *Quebec*, whereas he had greatly depended on a ſtrong diverſion in his favour on the ſide of *Montreal*. He had ſome grounds for this expectation, ſince there was a body of three thouſand men, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, *Iroquois*, and *Mahingans*, appointed to fall upon the territory of *Montreal*, whilſt *Quebec* was beſieged by the *Engliſh* fleet. There was reaſon enough to conclude that *Canada*, weakened by its great loſſes the preceding years, would be forced to yield to two ſuch powerful

powerful efforts, and we may ſafely ſay that nothing but providence prevented its falling into the hands of the *Engliſh*.

The cauſe of this diſappointment was aſcribed to the ſmall pox, which got among the *Mahingan Indians* whilſt they were marching to the place of rendezvous; whence the *Iroquois*, diſguſted with the delay occaſioned by it, and dreading the effects of that fatal diſtemper, which was almoſt new to them, left the camp. And their apprehenſions were but too well founded, ſince they loſt above three hundred of their people who had contracted the infection, and hence it came to paſs that the whole army was diſperſed. Another cauſe is ſaid to be occaſioned by the refuſal of the *Engliſh* to embark on board the canoes of the *Iroquois*, which are made of ſlight materials, as of the bark of trees, for fear of drowning. The *Iroquois* reproached them with cowardice, and refuſed to have any further dealings with ſuch daſtards. The true cauſe, however, ſeems rather to be the policy of thoſe *Indians*, who would willingly hold the balance between the two great *European* powers, whom they equally dread, and prevent as much as poſſible the one from entirely exterminating the other, juſtly concluding that they themſelves muſt become the next victims to the ambition of the conquerors. Policy of the *Indians*.

Theſe diſappointments, with the failing of a diverſion on the ſide of *Montreal*, and the impracticableneſs of forcing a way to *Quebec* croſs the river *St Charles*, made General *Phipps* think of raiſing the ſiege, which he did, and ſet ſail, on the evening of the twenty third, having loſt in the three actions, according to ſome accounts, near ſix hundred of his men, and exhauſted all his ammunition of every ſort, together with moſt part of his own fortune. Siege of *Quebec* raiſed.

The year following the *Engliſh* of *New York* made preparations for attacking *Montreal*, which was now in a condition to defend itſelf, by the raiſing of the ſiege of *Quebec*. This fort ſtood thirty paces from the river, on a ſteep rock, ſituated betwixt two meadows, one of which is cut by a ſmall river within gun ſhot of the fort, and a little further by a hollow; and between them there is a ſtream, with a mill on it. On this ſide, to the left of the fort, the militia were encamped, with ſome *Indians*, who then happened to be at *Montreal*. The regular troops encamped on the right, and the officers had pitched their tents on a riſing ground oppoſite to them. *Montreal* fort, ſituation, and camp.

About an hour before day break the enemy were diſcovered, by a centinel, falling in between the firſt river and the hollow; but after this they had gained the banks of the river, and finding the quarters of the militia unprovided, had driven away the few that remained in it, and taken poſſeſſion of it. On the alarm made by the centinel, the commander marched at the head of the troops, one part of whom took the way of the beach, and the other that of the meadow, marching round the fort. The battalion commanded by the oldeſt officer arrived firſt in ſight of the quarter of the militia, and as he ſuſpected all was not well, he halted in order to make what diſcoveries he could, when he received a diſcharge of muſquetry, in which he was mortally wounded. The ſame inſtant the other battalion came up, and fell upon the enemy, who, after a vigorous reſiſtance againſt ſuperior numbers, made their retreat in good order, with very inconſiderable loſs on the part of the *Engliſh*, but more on that of the *French* who had the advantage. The former perceiving a ſmall *French* detachment, which followed them pretty cloſe, laid an ambuſcade for them, in which every man periſhed. Grown more confident with this ſucceſs, they took the ſame way by which they came, when their ſcouts diſcovered the advanced guard of a body of troops coming to the relief of the place; and, concluding they had no more than the handful they ſaw to deal with, they fell upon them without heſitation. There happened to be the trunks of two large trees lying on the ground, behind which the *French* officer, with much ſagacity, drew up his men, ordering them to lie flat on their faces till the firſt fire of the enemy was ſpent. Then riſing up, he formed them into three bodies, and charged the enemy ſo fiercely, that they were every where obliged to give way. After, however, rallying twice, and returning to the fight, which laſted an hour and half, they were forced to betake themſelves to flight in great confuſion, leaving ſix-ſcore dead on the ſpot, and twice that number wounded, with the loſs of colours and baggage. The *French* allow themſelves to have had ſixty killed, and as many wounded, in this ſhort but ſharp action. Attacked by the *Engliſh*. Repulſed by the *French*.

Thus was *Canada* rendered powerful and flouriſhing, in compariſon of what it had been but two years ago, through the vigilance, activity and firmneſs of Count *Frontenac*.

tenac. There ſeemed but little cauſe of apprehending any attempt from *England*, and the incurſions of the *Iroquois* rather made the inhabitants uneaſy, than did them any real detriment. In the year 1695 arrived a deputy from the *Sioux*, demanding the protection of the governor general, the ceremonial of which is worth relating. Approaching the Count with a very diſmal air, and placing both his hands on his knees, he conjured him with tears in his eyes to have compaſſion on him; adding that whereas all the other nations had their father, yet he for his part had none, being in the condition of a child that had been abandoned and deſerted by its parents. Then extending a robe of beaver-ſkin on the ground, he placed on it two and twenty arrows, and, taking them up one after another, named at each arrow the name of ſome village, for which he, at the ſame time, demanded the general's protection. The Count conſented; though no care has ſince been taken to preſerve that nation in the *French* intereſt, and though a great profit might be got from the hides and wool of the buffaloes, with which their vaſt plains have been already ſaid to abound.

Addreſs of a deputy from the *Sioux*.

In 1696 the *French* formed a project of invading the provinces of *New England* and *New York*. By the plan of operations, their army was to march from *Montreal*, and take *Albany*, and from thence proceed to *New York*, and, with the aſſiſtance of a *French* fleet, to reduce *Boſton*, the chief difficulty of which they ſeemed to place rather in the extreme uncertainty of the junction of all the troops neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, the vaſt expence of time requiſite for ſuch a deſign, and, laſtly, the difficulty of carrying proviſions for an army on board of canoes, which was looked upon as almoſt unſurmountable. The fleet deſigned againſt *Boſton* was to conſiſt of ten ſhips of the line of battle, one frigate, and two fire ſhips, commanded by the Marquis *de Normand*, who, after joining with a ſquadron fitting out at *Rochfort*, under the command of M. *de Magnon*, was to proceed with all diligence to the Bay of *Placentia*, in hopes to be early enough to prevent the *Engliſh* from reconquering what they had loſt the year before in *Newfoundland*. And if he found them beſieging *Placentia*,, his orders were to attack them, and, in caſe of ſucceſs, to ſet ſail for *Pentagoet* in *Acadia*, and thence to diſpatch a veſſel to *Quebec*, to haſten the departure of Count *Frontenac*, who was to repair to him with 1500 men. This junction made, and the troops embarked, they were to ſail inſtantly for *Boſton*, and, after taking it, to ſcour all the coaſt as far as *Peſcadoue*, ruining all the plantations as high up the country as poſſible. If this ſucceeded, they were to attempt *Mawhatts*, if the ſeaſon permitted, and, after reducing that city, to leave behind the troops of *Canada*, who, in their return home, were to ravage the colony of *New York*. The failure of carrying this vaſt project into execution Father *Charlevoix* aſcribes ſolely to want of diligence. But an *Engliſhman* will take occaſion, from this bold and miſchievous, and, as it is imagined, well laid ſcheme, to reflect with joy and trembling on the late danger of his colonies from the much more flouriſhing and formidable ſtate of *Canada* in theſe later times. But what has he ſtill to expect, if the *French* be ſuffered to poſſeſs and people *Louiſiana*, a country larger than *Europe*, ſituated under the fineſt climates, and at the back of his plantations? He will ſee no way to remove his juſt apprehenſions, from the thriving progreſs of the enemy in thoſe parts, but by the conqueſt of *Canada*. To this we have now an open door, which the *French* will never be able to ſhut while we have *Louiſbourg* in our hands, the reſtoration of which has ſince appeared only juſtifiable by the neceſſity of extricating our faithful allies from their difficulties, and procuring them good and honourable terms of peace.

French ſcheme of invaſion fruſtrated.

A peace having been concluded in *Europe*, commiſſioners were appointed to ſettle the limits of the territories belonging to the two crowns in *America*, which had been the occaſion of much wrangling and bloodſhed. According to this ſettlement, the limits of *Canada*, in which *Acadia* ſeems to have been comprehended, were aſſigned at the river of *St George*, ſituated almoſt at an equal diſtance from *Kinibequi* and *Pentagoet*; whereas they had formerly been extended as far as the firſt of thoſe two places. Nothing was determined with reſpect to the country of the *Iroquois*, thoſe *Indians* pretending to an abſolute independance on either nation. All *Hudſon's Bay* was alſo left in the hands of the *French*, who were in the actual poſſeſſion of it, as well as of the iſland of *Cape Breton*, being then of ſmall conſequence, and the ſettlement there being too inconſiderable to give any cauſe of uneaſineſs to the *Engliſh*; but the war, which broke out ſoon after between the two crowns, remitted the deciſion of boundaries to the fate of arms.

Settlement of limits.

M. *de*

M. *de Caillieres* ſucceeding Count *Frontenac* in the government of *Canada*, was willing to take advantage of the favourable diſpoſition of the *Iroquois* towards a peace; and, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the governor of *New York*, he ſucceeded ſo well, that, in 1701, the deputies of the *Guiogouins*, *Tſonnonthonins*, *Onnontagues*, *Onneyouths*, and *Agniers*, the five nations included under the general name of *Iroquois*, in the *Britiſh* colonies, and better known by the names of *Senecas*, *Cayuga's*, *Onondagoes*, *Orieda's*, and *Mohawks*, arrived at *Montreal*. They were ſoon followed by thoſe of the *Indian* nations in the *French* intereſt, when the *Rat*, who was the orator and chief of the deputation of the *Hurons* of *Michilimakinac*, made the governor a very fine compliment in the name of all the reſt. General aſſembly of *Indians* in order for peace.

This treaty had been effected by the negociations of the Sieur *de Courtemanche*, and of Father *Angelran*, who had been ſent with a commiſſion for that purpoſe. In their progreſs, on their arrival at *Michilimakinac*, they found almoſt all the *Indians* abſent at hunting; wherefore, after diſpatching meſſengers to inform them of the cauſe of their arrival, the Count left his collegue to tranſact matters with the *Hurons* and *Outawais*, and repaired to the river of *St Joſeph*, where he met the *Miamis*, and parties of the *Poutewatamis*, *Sokokis*, *Outagamis*, *Hurons*, and *Mahingan Indians*. Hence he proceeded to the *Ilinois*, and, in his return to *Chicagou*, viſited the *Oyyatanous*, a nation of the *Miamis*. In *May* following he took a progreſs to the country of the *Maſcoutins*, and, continuing his journey towards *Hudſon's Bay*, met ſeveral bodies of the *Sakis*, *Otchagras*, *Malkomines*, *Outagamis*, *Poutewatamis*, and *Kikapous*. Thence returning to *Michilimakinac*, he found the negociation happily concluded by the zeal and addreſs of Father *Angelran*. On the Count's arrival the father ſet out for *Montreal*, leaving the Count at *Machilimakinac*, where his preſence was neceſſary for removing ſome ſcruples that aroſe with reſpect to the reſtitution of priſoners, which thoſe nations had taken from the *Iroquois*, ſome being deſirous of retaining them, in order to treat ſeparately with the cantons of that people, whilſt others wanted only to embroil matters. *Courtemanche* had many difficulties to encounter, moſt of thoſe nations being in arms againſt the *Iroquois*, and many of them one againſt another; but he had the good fortune to ſurmount them all, and at laſt embarked for *Montreal*, with a fleet of 180 canoes. Procured by *French* mediation.

Before the meeting of the general aſſembly of the *Indians* abovementioned, the governor held private conferences with the deputies apart, though there had been already a preliminary debate, in which the deputies chiefly inſiſted on lowering the price of commodities, and purchaſing all their leſſer peltry, beaver ſkins beginning to grow ſcarce. At laſt every thing being ſettled with the deputies in particular, it remained only to ſign the articles, and proclaim the peace. Difficulties removed.

For the performance of this ſolemnity a large plain was choſen without the city, ſurrounded with a double incloſure, at one end of which was erected a canopy for the ladies and principal perſons of the place. The troops were drawn up round the liſts, and the *Indians*, in number 1300, were drawn up within them in beautiful order. The governor, attended by M. *de Champigny*, the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, and the principal officers, placed himſelf ſo as to be ſeen and heard by all the people, and addreſſing himſelf to the *Indians* told them, in few words, that he had the year before eſtabliſhed a peace between all the nations. But as none of the Northern and Weſtern people, except the *Hurons* and *Outawais*, had been preſent at the treaty, he had acquainted the others with his deſire, that they ſhould ſend deputies, at whoſe general aſſembly he might ſolemnly take the hatchet out of their hands, and declare to all thoſe who ſhould acknowledge him for their father, that he took upon him to be, for the time to come, the arbiter of all their differences. He therefore adviſed them to forget all that was paſt, and intruſt all their concerns to his management, in which he would take care to ſee ſtrict juſtice done. He added, that they had reaſon to be weary of the war, which had been equally unprofitable to all of them; and that therefore he doubted not to receive their thanks, as ſoon as they ſhould have taſted the ſweets of peace. *French* governor's ſpeech to *Indian* deputies.

This ſpeech of the governor, being repeated to the ſeveral nations by their interpreters, was anſwered with general acclamations, and belts, and robes, were at the ſame time diſtributed among the chiefs, who riſing up one after another, and marching with a grave and ſolemn pace, clothed in their robes of beaver ſkins, preſented their priſoners to the governor, together with belts, the meaning of which was explained to him. All of them ſpoke with great politeneſs, and in a very ſenſible manner; Solemn deportment of *Indians*.

but their principal aim was to inforce a belief that they were ſacrificing their own intereſt to the love of peace, and to their great deference to the will of their father, at the ſame time inſinuating how little they had to fear on the part of the *Iroquois*, tho' they had ſmall reaſon to depend on their ſincerity.

This ceremony, ſerious as it was, afforded matter of much merriment to the *French* ſpectators, many of the *Indian* nations appearing in a very ridiculous dreſs, which, contraſted with the ſolemneſs of their deportment, excited laughter beyond all ſuppreſſion. The chief of the *Algonkins*, a tall handſome youth, was dreſſed like a *Canadian* traveller, with his hair done up with red feathers, which formed a ſort of crown reſembling a cock's comb. This hero, who had performed ſome admirable feats againſt the *Iroquois*, advancing towards the governor, with a noble and unaffected air, ſaid " My father, if my reputation as a councellor is but ſmall, let it be remembred that I have ever made it my maxim to obey thee in all things; and ſince thou haſt ſettled peace, I bury all my reſentment in oblivion". The chief of the *Pouteouatamis* wore a ſort of bonnet or caſket, made of the ſkin of a bull's head, the horns hanging over his ears. This perſonage paſſed for a man of ſolid judgment, joined to great ſweetneſs of temper, and a ſtrong affection to the *French*; his ſpeech is ſaid to have been well ſpoken, and in a very obliging manner. The *Outagamian* orator had his face painted red, and on his head an old ſcare crow wig, of which he ſeemed particularly vain, all covered with powder, but ſhockingly dreſſed, which gave him an air at once ridiculous and hideous. As he had neither hat nor cap, and was deſirous to ſalute the governor after the *French* manner, he pulled off his peruke, on which the aſſembly broke out into a peal of laughter, at which he was not in the leaſt diſconcerted, but probably took it for applauſe. He told the general that the reaſon why he had brought no priſoners was becauſe they had all made their eſcape, and that his principal hoſtilities had been committed againſt the *Sioux*, and not againſt the *Iroquois*. The *Saulteur* chief had on his head an ornament of feathers, formed into a kind of rays reſembling the flowers of the auricula. He ſaid that he had already given his priſoners their liberty, and that he conjured his father to grant him his friendſhip. The *Iroquois* inhabitants of the colony, and the *Algonkins* ſpoke laſt, expreſſing much zeal for the growth and proſperity of the *French* ſettlements. Then all the ſpectators, caſting their eyes on the orator of the *Iroquois* cantons, or Five Nations, who had not as yet ſpoken, he ſaid, in brief, that thoſe he had the honour to repreſent, would ſoon convince all the other nations of the wrong they did them by their diſtruſt, and that they would ſatisfy the moſt incredulous among them of their fidelity, ſincerity, and reſpect for their common father.

Dreſſes and ſpeeches.

The treaty was then produced, and ſigned by 38 *Indian* deputies, after which the great pipe was brought forth. The governor firſt ſmoaked in it, then the *French* officers of greateſt diſtinction, with all the *Indian* chiefs and deputies in their turn, after which *Te Deum* was ſung. Three whole oxen were boiled in their caldrons, and every one was ſerved with his portion, all paſſing with much order and decency.

Treaty ſigned

Theſe tranſactions were followed by giving audience to the *Upper Indians* and *Iroquois*; the acceſſion of the *Agniers* otherwiſe *Mohawks* to the treaty; the ſending miſſionaries to the Five Nations at their own requeſt, not to convert but to watch over their proceedings, and to fruſtrate the negociations of the *Engliſh*; the hoſtilities of the *Engliſh* in the breaking out of the war; their threats againſt *New France*; the project for ſettling a miſſion in *Acadia*; ſome proceedings of the *Indians* in the *French* colony prejudicial to their intereſt; the death of *Caillieres* ſucceeded by *Vaudreuil*; a deputation from the *Tſonnonthonans* or *Cayugas*; and, laſtly, an expedition into *New England* by the Sieur *de Beaubaſſin* at the head of a body of *Abenaquis*, with the ſlaughter of about 300 of that province, which was revenged by an inroad into *Acadia*, the country of thoſe *Indians*; and laſtly another ſurpriſe of *New Englanders* by the ſame *Indians*, in which many were killed, and 150 taken priſoners.

Subſequent tranſactions.

In 1706, the governor of *Canada* propoſed to the king's council a permiſſion for the inhabitants to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them in that country, where not only linens, but even woollen ſtuffs, were riſen to ſuch an advanced price, that the poorer ſort were obliged to go half naked. The anſwer of the miniſter was, that the king, his maſter, was extremely pleaſed to find that his ſubjects of *Canada* had at laſt acknowledged their fault in neglecting the cultivation of their lands for the fur trade. And particularly he approved of their deſign of growing hemp

Manufactures eſtabliſhed in *Canada*.

ed from the North, and North West winds by the mountains which lie towards the gulph of *St Laurence*.

All

Canada had at last acknowledged their fault in neglecting the cultivation of their lands for the fur trade. And particularly he approved of their design of growing hemp

hemp and flax, hoping that in time they might alſo come to build ſhips in *Canada*, and thoſe much cheaper than in *Old France*, as well as ſettling fiſheries ſo advantageous to the nation. Wherefore nothing ſhould be omitted to encourage and aſſiſt them, but that it was not for the intereſt of *Old France* that manufactures ſhould be ſet up in *America*, though he was not abſolutely againſt ſuffering ſuch as were of ſmall conſequence, for the relief of the poorer inhabitants of the colony. This permiſſion has been ſince employed to eſtabliſh manufactures of linen and druggets, which are very advantageous to the country.

Soon after, the *Engliſh*, with a body of two thouſand men, ſet about erecting a new fort at the extremity of *Lake Sacrament*, (now *Lake George*) and fortifying a poſt on *Lake Champlain*, within two days march of the *French* fort at *Chambly*. But they were obliged to deſiſt and decamp, after deſtroying their works, and loſing a great part of their troops by the treachery of the *Iroquois*, who poiſoned their water. Vain attempt of the *Engliſh* to fortify and extend their frontier.

The next thing we find in the hiſtories of *Canada* worthy of notice is the expedition againſt *Quebec*, in 1712, by an *Engliſh* fleet under Sir *Hovenden Walker*, whilſt General *Nicholſon*, with a conſiderable body of troops, was to make a diverſion on the ſide of *Montreal*. The miſcarriage of this enterprize ſeems to have been entirely owing to the ill conduct of the *Engliſh* admiral, who kept ſailing on towards the *Seven Iſlands*, on the North ſhore of the River of *St Laurence*, and, through the ignorance of the pilots, was caſt away on *Egg Iſland*, with ſeven others of his largeſt veſſels, in a ſudden tquall of wind, in which, beſides the loſs of his ſhips, cannon, and other effects, three thouſand of his men periſhed. The land army, after the hearing of this diſaſter, had nothing more to do but to make their retreat. Expedition againſt *Quebec* miſcarries.

In the year following, the *Engliſh* again menacing *Quebec*, the merchants of that capital made a voluntary preſent of fifty thouſand crowns, to be laid out on additional fortifications. *Quebec* ſtronger.

The negociations for ſettling the peace of *Utrecht* were not yet concluded, when the governors of *New England* and *New France* received orders from their reſpective courts to ceaſe hoſtilities; and *Lewis* XIV. yielded up *Acadia*, *Newfoundland*, and *Hudſon's Bay*, together with all his pretenſions to the country of the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, to the crown of *Great Britain*. And as there now remained nothing to *France* in thoſe ſeas but the iſland of *Cape Breton*, which they reſerved as proper for eſtabliſhing a fiſhery, a principal object with the *French* about this time, a deſcription of this important ſpot of land, on account of its cloſe relation to *Canada*, will not, it is preſumed, be altogether unacceptable to the reader, and may very properly be introduced here before we conclude our deſcription and hiſtory of the Northern part of *New France*. Ceſſions of *France* to *Great Britain*.

CAPE BRETON, called by the *French* *L'ISLE ROYALE*.

Is ſituated between 45 and 47 degrees of North latitude, and forms the Weſtern coaſt of the entry of the gulph of *St Laurence*, as the iſland of *Newfoundand* does that on the Eaſtern, the diſtance between them being ſixteen leagues. The ſtrait which ſeparates it from *Acadia*, or *New Scotland*, is about five leagues long, and one broad, and is called the gut of *Canſo*, or Paſs of *Fronſac*. Its length from N. E. to S. W. is not quite fifty leagues, and its greateſt breadth from E. to W. not more than thirty three. Its figure is very irregular, being ſo interſected with lakes and rivers that the two principal parts of it are only joined by an iſthmus eight hundred paces broad, which ſeparates the bottom of *Port Thouloufe* from ſeveral lakes, called by the general name of *Labrador*. Theſe lakes fall into the ſea by two channels of unequal breadth, formed by the iſland of *Verderonne*, or *de la Bourlarderie*, ſeven leagues in length. Geography of *Cape Breton*.

The climate of *Cape Breton* is much like that of *Quebec*, and though fogs are much more frequent in the former, there are, however, few complaints of its unwholeſomeneſs. The land is generally unfertile, yet produces trees of all kinds; ſuch as oaks of a prodigious ſize, pines for maſts, with all ſorts of timber fit for building. The moſt common are the oak, cedar, aſh, maple, plane tree, and poplar. Fruits, eſpecially apples, legumes, or pulſe, wheat, with all other ſorts of uſeful grain, hemp, flax, though in leſs quantity, are, however, equal in goodneſs to thoſe produced in *Canada*. It has been remarked that the mountains are capable of culture, even to their tops; that the good lands lie open to the South, and are covered from the North, and North Weſt winds by the mountains which lie towards the gulph of *St Laurence*. Vegetables.

All

A NEW MAP of NOVA SCOTIA, and CAPE BRITAIN.

with the adjacent parts of

NEW ENGLAND and CANADA,

Composed

from a great number of actual Surveys;

and other materials

REGULATED

by many new Astronomical Observations of the Longitude aswell as Latitude;

with an Explanation.

Observations on which this Map is Grounded.

Places	Latitude.	Longitude.	Observers
Quebeck	46 55	5h 15	Bryhani 1849
Boston	42 28	55 29	Bristle 1700
Cape Sable	43 23	43 47 50	Chabert 1751
Cape Canso	45 18	43 18	Chabert
Grande Anse	45 57	43 40	Chabert
Lousburg or English Harbour	45 55	43 44 15	Chabert

PART OF NEW FRANCE OR KIRKS LAND

Cranwells circuit of Nova Scotia in 1691 extends to this Line

CANADA or ST LAURENCE

HOSHELAGA

Albany or Notre

Nipisighit or Nipisik

Wigwich Chyle or St Johns R

Chaleurs R

TERRITORY of

Kenisanger L. & R.

Hudsons R.

KENNEBEKI ABENAKI

ABENAKI

ANTIENT COUNTRY of the MASSASSUK ABENAKA of the NEW IROQUOIS

CORLEAR LAKE

CHAMPLAIN LAKE

HAMPSHIRE PROVINCE

Halifax 1754

Wallace 1754

Frank Fort 1754

Casco Bay

Cape Elizabeth

Manhegin

BAY of FUNDY

Cape St Mary

TERRA
LABRADOR
NATISKOTEK
Corriquity
ANTICOSTI
ISLE
GULF OF
NOVA SCOTIA
called by the FRENCH
THE GULF OF
ST LAWRENCE
NEW FOUNDLAND
ST LAWRENCE
Albany or Notre Dame Mountains
ARGYLE
Sterling Bay or Bay of Heat
Nipisiguit or Nipisiki River
Baie des Chaleurs
Bay of all Isles
BAY of FUNDY or ARGAL
ISLE ROYAL
CAPE BRETON
Sable Island
Magdalen Isles
Bird I
Brion I
Cape Gaspe or Gaspe
North Foreland or Cape des Rosiers
Cape Hope
Cape North
Cape Breton
Louisbourg
Port Royal
Annapolis Royal
Minas
Basin of Minas
Chignecto
Cumberland
Halifax
Canso
Sydney
Port Rosway
Shelburne
Liverpool
Port Mouton
Port Roseway
Port Medway
Port Matanne
Port Daniel
Port Shinone
Port Dauphin
Port Toulouse
Port Orpheus
Port Hood
Port Richmond
Port Lorembec
Port Bourbon
Port Rochefort
Port Egmont
Port Sambro
Port Sheldrake
Port Mahone

from a great number of actual Surveys;
and other materials
REGULATED
by many new Astronomical Observations
of the Longitude as well as Latitude;
with an Explanation.
Observations on which this Map is Grounded
Places Lat. Longitude Observers
Quebeck 46 53 71 13 Bryhouni 1649
Boston 42 23 53 22 Bristle 1700
Cape Sable 43 43 45 47 30 Chabert 1750
Cape Canso 45 16 42 13 Chabert
Grande Anse 45 37 43 40 Chabert
Louisburg or English Harbour 45 53 44 22 15 Chabert
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
NOVA SCOTIA
ACADIA
CANADA
TERRITORY of
NEW ENGLAND
PROVINCE of MAINE
ATLANTIC
Part of St Georges Bank
Jeffery's Bank
BAY of FUNDY
From Quebeck to Kennebek R. Mouth we much above ½ way to Boston and ⅔ to New York hence by that R. & Chesabaro & Road to Canada is short.
West Longitude from Ferro
BOSTON HARBOUR

NOVA SCOTIA
called by the FRENCH
THE GULF OF
ST LAWRENCE
Baines or
Magdalen Isles
Sterling Bay
or
Bay of Heat
Nipisiguit
or
Nipisiki River
Restigouch R.
Tobique R.
Richibucto R.
St Johns R.
Chaleurs Bay
Miramichi Bay
Shediak
Cape Tormentine
Cape Jourimain
Northumberland Strait
Prince Edwards Island
Isle Royal
Cape Breton
Gabarus Bay
Louisbourg
Port Toulouse
Port Dauphin
Cape North
St Laurence
Sydney
Spanish Bay
Port Hood
Cape George
Pictou
Merigomish
Antigonish
Canso
Country Harbour
Sheet Harbour
Halifax
Mahone Bay
Port Rossignol
Liverpool
Port Medway
Port Matoon
Port La Tour
Cape Sable
Port Latour
Port Royal
Annapolis Basin
Annapolis
Minas Basin
Cumberland
Fundy Bay
Bay of Fundy or ARGAL
Bay of all Isles
Chignecto
Cobequid
Shubenacadie
Shubenacadie River
Windsor
Horton
Grand Pre
Piziquid
Minas
Basin of Minas
Mines
Cape Blomidon
Cape Split
Cape Sharp
Cape Chignecto
Partridge Island
Parrsborough
Cape D'Or
Five Islands
Economy
Remsheg
Pugwash
Wallace
Tatamagouche
Pictou
Merigomish
Antigonish
Canso
Country Harbour
Sheet Harbour
Halifax
Mahone Bay
Port Rossignol
Liverpool
Port Medway
Port Matoon
Port La Tour
Cape Sable
Port Latour
Port Royal
Annapolis Basin
Annapolis
Minas Basin
Cumberland
Fundy Bay
Bay of Fundy or ARGAL
Bay of all Isles
Chignecto
Cobequid
Shubenacadie
Shubenacadie River
Windsor
Horton
Grand Pre
Piziquid
Minas
Basin of Minas
Mines
Cape Blomidon
Cape Split
Cape Sharp
Cape Chignecto
Partridge Island
Parrsborough
Cape D'Or
Five Islands
Economy
Remsheg
Pugwash
Wallace
Tatamagouche
Sable Island
Sable Island Bank
Middle Bank
Browns Bank
Rocky ground
Nova Scotia fishing Banks from Capt Durel's Chart
Explanation
A Single Stroke under the Name of a place denotes the Latitude Every Observed, a Line both Latitude & Longitude a dotted line shows y Observation doubtfull
SCALE
English Marine Leagues 20 to a Degree
English Miles 69½ to a Degree
Part of St Georges Bank
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Published according to Act of Parliament by Thos Jefferys Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the Corner of St Martins Lane, Charing Cross, London
49
48
47
46
45
44
43
42
41
40
39

Animals. All ſorts of domeſtic animals, horſes, horned cattle, hogs, ſheep, deer, and poultry find abundance of provender. Hunting and fiſhing are alone able to maintain the inhabitants for a conſiderable part of the year. There are alſo ſeveral rich mines of excellent coal, and thoſe lying high on mountains, and therefore may be wrought at a ſmall expence; there is alſo found plaſter like that dug up near *Paris*. It is affirmed that no part in the world affords greater plenty of cod fiſh, and, with more conveniences of all ſorts for curing them. This iſland was formerly well ſtocked with wild game, but it has lately become very ſcarce, eſpecially the elk. The partridge is of the ſize of a pheaſant, reſembling it alſo very much in the colour of its feathers. Laſtly, no place can be better ſituated for the fiſhery of the ſea wolf, porpoiſe, and whale, which are found in great plenty in thoſe ſeas.

Ports. All its ports are open towards the eaſt, ſomewhat inclining to the South, within the ſpace of fifty five leagues, beginning with *Porte Dauphine* as far as *Porte Thouloufe*, ſituated almoſt at the entrance of the ſtraits, or gut, of *Fronſac*. Every where elſe you hardly find any anchoring ground, except only for ſmall veſſels in the creeks and between the iſlets. The whole Northern coaſt is very high, and almoſt inacceſſible; and it is equally difficult to find any landing place on the Weſt, till you come to the ſtraits of *Fronſac*, in your courſe from which you immediately meet with *Port Thouloufe*, formerly known by the name of *Porte St Peter*, and ſituated between a fort of gulph, called *Little St Peter*, and the iſlands of *St Peter*, oppoſite to the iſles *Madame*, otherwiſe *Maurepas*. From thence returning towards the South Eaſt, you diſcover the Bay of *Gaborous*, the entry whereof, which is about twenty leagues diſtant from the iſlands of *St Peter*, is a league in breadth, lying between iſlands and rocks. All theſe iſlands may be approached, and ſome of them run out with capes a league and half into the ſea. The bay is two leagues deep, and the anchorage very good.

Port of *Louiſbourg*, and others of *Cape Breton* deſcribed. The harbour of *Louiſbourg*, formerly *Engliſh Harbour*, is no more than a league diſtant, and one of the principal ports in all *America*. It is near four leagues in circuit, and has every where from ſix to ſeven fathoms water. The anchorage is excellent, and ſhips may be run aſhore on the mud without danger. The entry is no more than two hundred fathoms wide, between two ſmall iſlands, and is eaſily known at ſea by *Cape Lorembec*, ſituated near it, towards the North Eaſt. Two leagues higher is *Porte de la Baleine*, or *Whales Port*, the entry of which is very difficult on account of ſome rocks, which lie hid under water when the ſea runs high. This harbour is capable of no larger veſſels than that of three hundred tun, for want of deeper water, though it be very ſecure when once entered. Two leagues hence is the Bay of *Panadou* or *Menadou*, the entry of which is about a league in breadth and the bay itſelf two leagues in depth. Almoſt oppoſite is the iſland of *Scatari*, formerly *Little Cape Breton*, above two leagues in length. The Bay of *Miré* is ſeparated from it only by a very narrow iſthmus. Its entry is near two leagues broad, and the bay itſelf eight in depth. It contracts as you advance within it, and ſeveral ſtreams or rivulets diſcharge themſelves into it. Large veſſels may ſail ſafely till they are got ſix leagues within it, where is good anchorage, and ſhelter from winds. Beſides the iſlands of *Scatari*, there are ſeveral leſſer, as alſo rocks, which are never covered, but diſcernible at a great diſtance; the largeſt is called the *Forillon*. The bay of *Morienne* is higher, and ſeparated from *Miré* by *Cap Brulé*, and higher ſtill, is *l'Iſle Plate*, or *Flat Iſland*, otherwiſe *Iſle à Pierre*, that is *à ſu ſal*, or *Flint-ſtone Iſland*, exactly in forty ſix degrees eight minutes North latitude. There is good ſhelter among all theſe iſlands and rocks, and they may alſo be approached without danger. Thence aſcending three leagues further towards the North Weſt, you come to an excellent harbour for ſmall veſſels, called *l'Indiane*.

From *l'Indiane* to the *Bay des Epagnols*, or *Spaniſh Bay*, are two leagues; this bay has alſo a very fine harbour. The entry of it does not exceed one thouſand paces in breadth, growing broader by degrees. A league from its entrance it divides forming two arms of a competent depth three leagues higher. Both arms make excellent harbours, and might be much improved at a trifling expence. From this bay to the leſſer entry of *Labrador* you have two leagues, and to the iſland which divides the leſſer from the larger entry two leagues more. *Labrador* is a gulph of above twenty leagues in length, and from three to four leagues in breadth where broadeſt. They reckon but a league and half from the great entry of *Labrador* to *Port Dauphin*, or *St Anne*, The anchorage is an open road between

mouth of the harbour, leaving only room for one ſhip to paſs at a time. The port is two leagues in circumference, in which veſſels hardly feel the wind, becauſe of the height of the lands and mountains with which it is ſurrounded, tho' they may ride as cloſe as they pleaſe to the ſhore. All theſe harbours and ports lie ſo contiguous to one another, that it would be very eaſy to cut roads between them, which would be of infinite ſervice to the inhabitants, in facilitating their mutual correſpondence, and ſave them the trouble of fetching a compaſs by ſea in the winter ſeaſon.

Whilſt the *French* remained in poſſeſſion of *Acadia*, or *New Scotland*, and the Southern coaſt of *Newfoundland*, they made little account of the iſland of *Cape Breton*. The Sieurs *Renaudot* were the firſt who took upon them to recommend it to the attention of the *French* miniſtry in 1706, on account of its utility to *New France*. For this purpoſe they tranſmitted a memorial to court, in which they intimate that ſince the chief and almoſt ſole view in eſtabliſhing the colony of *Canada*, at leaſt of thoſe concerned in it as members and proprietors of a company, had been the traffic of furrs, principally beaverſkins, thoſe intereſted ought to have reflected and foreſeen, that one day this commodity muſt be in a great meaſure exhauſted, or elſe too common, and, conſequently, far from ſufficient for the ſupport of a colony of ſo much conſequence; that the laſt of theſe evils, the low price of beaverſkins, had actually come to paſs, and that thoſe who had got enough to live at eaſe in *Old France* were, for that very reaſon, leſs concerned what became of *New France*. Then they obſerve that this trade can never employ any conſiderable number of people, and never can ſuffice alone to maintain or enrich a whole colony; and that, even ſuppoſing the conſumption of thoſe commodities certain, the evil laſt mentioned could only be avoided by running into the firſt; for want of making theſe reflexions, the inhabitants of *New France* had almoſt entirely addicted themſelves to this commerce, never conſidering the impoſſibility of finding a general ſale for beaver, as they might undoubtedly for cod and other fiſh; that they had been ſo accuſtomed to long and fatiguing journeys, and to a life of wandering and ſtrolling through foreſts and woods, and croſſing of lakes, that tho' the value of beaver was ſunk ſo low as not to be worth their pains, they could not yet, without great difficulty, be brought to ſubject themſelves to any more profitable but more confined way of life.

Memorial of the Sieurs *Renaudot*.

Inſufficiency of the furr trade.

The *Engliſh*, on the contrary, ſay they, have obſerved quite another method, and, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with long and uncertain peregrinations, have made it their buſineſs to cultivate their lands, have eſtabliſhed manufactures, erected glaſs-works, diſcovered iron mines, followed ſhip-building, and have never regarded the furriery but as an acceſſary and not a principal article of commerce.

Induſtry of the *Engliſh*.

Indeed neceſſity has at laſt opened the eyes of the *Canadians*, and they have been obliged to turn their hands to cultivate hemp and flax, to making of ſails, and of ſome ordinary druggets of the wool of their old cloaths mixed with thread; but the long habit of doing of nothing had not as yet ſuffered them to overcome their lazy indolence. That if all of them had corn and cattle ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence, yet ſtill multitudes want cloaths, and are under a neceſſity of paſſing very long and ſharp winters with no other than ſuch as are made of doeſkins.

Canadians forced upon agriculture and manufactures.

The king is at a yearly expence of a hundred thouſand crowns towards the ſupport of this colony; the ſkins, or furrs, amount to about two hundred and four[illegible] thouſand livres; oils and other inferior articles return about twenty thouſand livres; the penſions which lie upon the royal treaſury, what the king allows private perſons, and the revenues of the biſhop and ſeminaries, paid by *Old France*, amount to fifty thouſand livres more; making in all ſix hundred and fifty thouſand livres, [reckoning three livres to the crown] which is the whole of the value or ſtock in trade, of the whole country. A very inconſiderable matter indeed, with reſpect to the ſubſiſtence of five and twenty thouſand ſouls, and providing them alſo with all neceſſaries from the mother country.

Stock in trade of *Canada*.

Formerly the king beſtowed a much greater ſum on the colony, the returns then amounted to near a million in beaverſkins, and at a time when that province was not near ſo populous; but as ſhe was never able to make returns equal to her receipts from *Europe*, her credit diminiſhed, and at laſt ſunk entirely, ſo that no goods were to be had in *France*, till the merchants had paid for them with ready money, or by a conſiderable conſignment. Thus, as well as by the fall of the price of beaverſkins, all the money of *Canada* was drained into *France*; whence it has been affirmed that at

Colony drained of money.

certain times there were not a thouſand crowns in ſpecie to be found in the whole colony.

Thus far they proceed in repreſenting the ſtate of affairs in *Canada*. They next take the liberty to offer propoſals to render the colony more flouriſhing, and to prevent or remedy all future complaints.

Canada improved by *Cape Breton*.

Canada has, ſay they, ſufficient commodities to drive on a very lucrative commerce, ſuch as ſalt fleſh, maſts, deal boards, ſide-planks, ſmall and great timber for ſhipping, pitch, tar, whale oil, and oil of porpoiſes and ſea-wolves, codfiſh, hemp, flax, copper and iron. All that is neceſſary to be done, is to find a market for the conſumption of theſe commodities, and to lower the price of labour, and of the commodities of *Old France*. *Cape Breton* was therefore judged the propereſt place for a mart, or ſtaple, between *France* and *Canada*, for carrying on the mutual commerce of both countries, as well as for a nurſery of ſeamen, it being the moſt advantageouſly ſituated, and even abſolutely neceſſary for the cod and whale fiſhery, as well in the gulf of *St Laurence*, as elſe where in the neighbouring ſeas.

Iſland convenient for ſmuggling.

Such was the ſubſtance of the memorial and of the propoſals it offers. But there was another advantage which the *French* promiſed themſelves from ſettling *Cape Breton*, reſulting from its moſt commodious ſituation for ſmuggling brandies, wines, linen, ſilks, and other *French* commodities into the *Engliſh* colonies, not only of *North America*, but alſo of their iſlands, which muſt be a conſiderable diminution of the caſh, and detriment to the manufactures, of *Great Britain*. The iſland is alſo conſiderable with reſpect to the value of its native produce, as coals, plaſter, codfiſh, oils, timber and lumber, as well for ſerving *France* as their iſlands in the *Weſt Indies*; and as a convenient ſhelter for ſhips in diſtreſs, and a refuge under purſuit of an enemy.

Choice of *Louiſbourg* harbour, and riſe of the city

On ſettling this iſland, which the *French* had reſerved to themſelves by the peace of *Utrecht*, after they had renounced all claims to *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, the firſt thing under deliberation was to make choice of a harbour on which to build a city. The opinions were a long time divided betwixt *Engliſh Harbour* and *Port St Anne*. For the former were urged the vaſt quantities of cod which frequented it, and might be conveniently caught from *April* to the end of *December*. But this argument in its favour ſeemed counterbalanced by the want of a beach, or convenient ſhore, for any great number of fiſhing-veſſels, the barrenneſs of the country round it, and the immenſe ſums it muſt coſt to fortify it. They who were for the harbour of *St Anne*, beſides the ſhelter it affords to ſhips from the height of its banks and the neighbouring mountains, and the eaſy acceſs of all ſorts of veſſels near the beach, added, that it might be fortified at a trifling expence, ſince as much work might be done here for two thouſand livres, as at *Engliſh Harbour* for two hundred thouſand, becauſe it afforded all ſorts of materials proper for building and fortifying a great city. Beſides the beach was as large as that of *Placentia*, and no leſs the quantity of fiſh. To thoſe advantages might be added the vaſt variety of timber, ſuch as maple, beech, cherry-trees, and, above all, oaks for ſhip-building, and maſts, marble in great quantity, the lands excellent, eſpecially thoſe of the greater and leſſer *Labrador*, which are alſo capable of maintaining a great number of inhabitants; and that it is no more than four leagues from *Spaniſh Bay*, an excellent harbour, the adjacent lands of a rich ſoil, and producing much timber fit for ſhip-building. There was, however, one main and overbalancing inconvenience attending *St Anne's Harbour*, and that is, the difficulty of getting into it, which, after much wavering between the two, gave at laſt the preference to *Engliſh Harbour*, ſince named *Louiſbourg*, on account of its eaſy acceſs.

We think ourſelves obliged, before we conclude our account of this important ſpot of earth, to give an hiſtorical relation of the ſeveral revolutions it has of late years undergone, which the reader will find in the following order.

Cape Breton ceded to *France*.

Cape Breton, and the other iſlands in the bay of *St Laurence*, which, together with *Nova Scotia*, had been reduced by the *Engliſh* in 1710, were, by the peace of *Utrecht*, given to the *French* in exchange for *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, and all other right and title to that iſland, with a reſerve, however, of liberty, for the *French* and *Spaniards* to catch and cure fiſh in its Northern harbours. By the ſame treaty, *Nova Scotia*, called by the *French Acadia*, whoſe undetermined bounds, together with other claims, unſettled by that and other ſucceeding negociations, have given occaſion

to

to the preſent war, were left in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. While this peace was under debate at the *Engliſh* board of trade and plantations, and the importance of *Cape Breton* was ſtrongly urged, *A. M—re*, one of the commiſſioners, took up the matter ſhort with a deciſive queſtion in favour of his good friends, ſaying, "And what ſhall the *French* then have nothing?"

War between the *Engliſh* and *Indians*.

In 1717 the *French* of *Canada*, alarmed at the advancement of the *Engliſh* ſettlements towards the North of *New England*, ſollicited the *Abenaquis Indians*, by Father *Ralle*, their Jeſuit miſſionary at *Kenebec*, to claim ſome lands occupied by the new ſettlers. Influenced by his perſuaſions, and aſſuring them that theſe lands were given by God, unalienably, to the *Indians* and their ſeed for ever, they began to murmur, and, after ſome time, gave the *Engliſh* formal warning to leave the lands within a ſet time. When that ter..n was expired, they began their depredations by deſtroying cattle and other ſtock. However the ſmall pox, which the *Indians*, with good reaſon, dread, prevailing in *New England*, and the governor of *Canada*'s expectations of particular inſtructions concerning the affair from *France*, prevented a declared rupture. In 1721 M. *Croizes* from *Canada*, M. *St Caſteen* from *Penobſcot*, *Rolle* and *de la Chaſſe*, *French* miſſionaries, with about three hundred *Indians*, made a general appearance at *Arrowſick*, an iſland of *Sagadahock*, threatning, that if the *Engliſh* did not remove from the claimed *Indian* lands in three weeks, they would kill the people, burn their houſes, and deſtroy their cattle. Accordingly, at *Merrymeeting* bay on *Kenebec* river, *June* 13, 1722, the *Indians* made a beginning, and took ſeveral captives. *July* 5, 1722, the governor of *Maſſachuſetts Bay* proclaimed the *Indians* enemies and rebels, and ordered 100 *l.* per ſcalp to volunteers fitted out at their own charge, and afterwards 4 *s.* per day beſides. The moſt conſiderable action againſt them was at *Noridgwoag* by *Kenebec* river, *Auguſt* 12, 1724. Their fighting men being juſt returned from ſcouting, Capt. *Harman*, with 200 men in 17 whale boats went up the river and ſurpriſed them, bringing off 26 *Indian* ſcalps, and that of Father *Ralle*; the killed and wounded amounted to eighty. On the other hand, Captain *Lovel*, a volunteer, who had done great ſervice, was intercepted in his way from *Oſſipi* pond to *Pigocket*, by a party of about 70 *Indians*, and killed with 14 of his men volunteers out of 44, beſides many wounded. *November* 17, 1723, arrived in *Boſton* a captain and lieutenant of marines, with a meſſage from the governor of *Canada*. And in *January*, 1725, two colonels and a gentleman were ſent from *New England* with a meſſage to expoſtulate with the government of *Canada*, concerning their inviting and aſſiſting the rebellious *Indians*. After much ſkirmiſhing and blood ſhed, the *Indians* begged and obtained a ceſſation of arms, *December* 15, 1725, and in *May* following, a peace was concluded, by which the *Indians* of *Noridgwoag*, *Penobſcot*, *St John's*, and *Cape Sables*, who ſigned the treaty, were ſecured in the poſſeſſion of all their lands not hitherto conveyed, with the privilege of hunting, fowling, and fiſhing, as formerly.

War declared between *France* and *England*.

In 1744, the war declared ſeveral years before between *England* and *Spain*, after long miſunderſtanding, and ſome previous acts of hoſtility, drew on another of *England* with *France*, which appeared to have taken *Spain* under her protection. *France* proclaimed war *March* 26, N. S. and *England April* 2; but at *Boſton*, in *New England*, war was not proclaimed till *June* 13. On *May* 24, *Du Vivier*, a *French* officer, who had early intelligence, with a few armed ſmall veſſels, and about 900 regular troops and militia from *Louiſbourg* takes *Canſo* in *Nova Scotia* without reſiſtance, and carries the garriſon and inhabitants to that fortreſs. After this he blockaded *Annapolis* for ſeveral weeks, but on the arrival of ſuccours from *New England* retired to *Minas*, a town in the heart of that country, peopled by the *French* in ſubjection to the *Engliſh*, but diſpoſed, on all occaſions, to favour the attempts of their countrymen.

Siege and conqueſt of *Louiſbourg* in 1745.

On *February* 5, 1745, N. S. at an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, the moſt powerful and leading of the four provinces of *New England*,* it was concluded, by the majority of one vote, that, conſidering the imminent danger and annoyance to his majeſty's Northern colonies, in time of war, from the neighbouring ſtrong and moſt commodiouſly ſituated *French* harbour and garriſon of *Louiſbourg*, an attempt ſhould be made to reduce that fortreſs. The governor of *New England* at that time was Mr *Shirley*, a man of the law, of great abilities and merit, and intimately acquainted with Colonel *Pepperell*, chief officer of the militia, one of the lar-

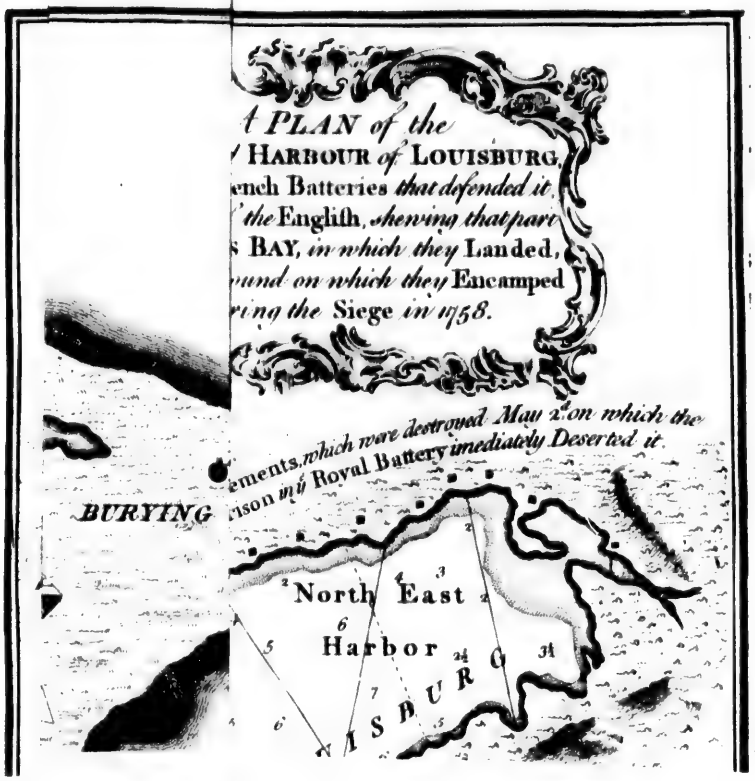
* The other provinces are *Connecticut*, *New Hampſhire*, and *Rhode Iſland*.

geſt

geſt traders in *Boſton*, and univerſally beloved for his integrity and affability. In confidence of his friendſhip and extenſive intereſt, the governor propoſes to him the command of the expedition. The colonel, after much heſitation, and long declining the offer, as requiring a perſon of great military knowledge, at laſt yields to the inſtances of the governor, and intreaties of his friends, and accepted the charge. Wherefore, on *February* 13, inliſtments began for volunteers, and ſuch was the influence of the popular affection and reſpect to the general, that the levies ſoon amounted to 3600 effective men. At the end of *March* the fleet ſailed with theſe forces to *Canſo*, where it remained three weeks, becauſe the ſhore of *Cape Breton* was all that time inacceſſible through ice. *May* 10, the fleet proceeded from *Canſo*, and next day anchored at *Chapeau Rouge* or *Gaborouſe* Bay, a little S. of *Louiſbourg*, where the troops repulſed the *French*, who oppoſed their landing, with the loſs of eight killed and 20 priſoners, without loſing a man. A detachment burnt *St Peter's*, a ſmall *French* ſettlement. A day or two after a battery of ſome few ſmall cannon, and three mortars of 13, 11, and 9 inches, was erected on the green hill, at 1550 yards diſtance from the king's baſtion, called the citadel. *May* 13, 4000 men marched, under covert of the hills, to North Eaſt harbour, and burnt the ſtore-houſes and fiſh-ſtages, on which the troops on the grand battery retired into the town to ſtrengthen the garriſon, after nailing their cannon, in number about 30, of 36 and 42 pound balls, which were ſoon drilled, and ſerved againſt the place. The beſiegers dragged their heavy cannon upon ſledges over moraſſes, impracticable by horſes or oxen. No regular approaches were made by trenches carried on by parallels and zigzags, but the town was bombarded and battered at random, by which the houſes were much damaged, and the Weſt ſide of the citadel, with its ajoining flank and curtain, was greatly defaced, but no practicable breach made. *May* 18, a battery was erected at 900 yards diſtance, and the town was ſummoned. Next day the beſieged made an inſignificant ſally. A body of *French Indians* did execution on a party of ſtragglers. On the 27th, 100 men in boats landed in the night, near the Light Houſe point, to ſurpriſe thoſe erecting a battery to play upon that in the iſland, but were timely diſcovered, and purſued to the woods, where they were joined by ſome *Indians*, and had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the outguards of the beſiegers. On the 28th, a battery was advanced to 250 yards diſtance from the Weſt gate. On the 30th the *Vigilante*, a *French* ſhip of 64 guns for *Louiſbourg*, with men and ſtores, was taken by Commodore *Warren*, who, with the *Superbe* of 60 guns, and the *Lancaſter* and *Mermaid* of 40, covered the ſiege by ſea, and was afterwards reinforced by two ſhips of 60 guns, one of fifty, and three of forty. On the 31ſt, was erected, on the further ſide of a creek, a battery of five 42 pounders, called *Tidcomb*'s battery, to play upon the circular battery and magazine. *June* 5, about 500 men in whale boats made an attempt on the iſland battery where was bad landing, 30 cannon 28 pounders, and 180 men in garriſon, and were repulſed with the loſs of 60 men killed and wounded, and 116 taken priſoners. *June* 23, the *Canterbury* and *Sunderland* of 60 guns each arriving, it was reſolved with theſe and the reſt there before, conſiſting of one 64, two 60, one 50, and three 40 gun ſhips, to ſtorm the town the 29th by ſea, while the forces from the camp made an attack by way of diverſion on the land, though the ditch was 80 feet wide, the rampart eighty feet high, and the ſcaling ladders 10 feet too ſhort. But the garriſon, compoſed of 600 regulars, with about, 300 militia, perceiving the preparations, thought it beſt to capitulate on the 28th, and were allowed the honours of war, not to ſerve for twelve months, and to be tranſported to *France* at the charge of *England*. The *French* had expended two millions of livres in fortifying the place, and it had when taken, cannon mounted on the town walls 64, and on the grand and iſland batteries as before mentioned, and no want of ammunition and ſtores. The loſs of the beſiegers did not exceed 150 men.

This expedition reſulted greatly, and almoſt ſolely, to the honour of the people of *New England*. "When I reflect, ſays a writer of that time, on the ſagacity and bravery of Mr *Pepperell* and of the *New Engliſh* engineer who left his ſhop-board, and the intrepidity of the reſt of the *New Engliſhmen* in this undertaking; when I conſider the coolneſs and bravery with which they marched to action, and their return from victory to their ſeveral occupations, I form in my mind the image of the antient *Romans* leaving the plough for the field of battle, and retiring after their conqueſts to the plow again." And a *French* officer obſerved that in all hiſtory he had never met with ſuch a bold inſtance as of 4300 raw undiſciplined men laying ſiege

to



1757 it was reſolved to give a deciſive blow, and the reduction of *Cape Breton* propoſed as the firſt ſtep, and moſt likely to produce either an honourable peace, or total reduction of *Canada*. The Earl of *Loudoun* was appointed Captain General

A Boom to preserve the French Ships
BEACH
POND
BURYING GRO
The Hospital
Parade
Kings Bastion or Citadel
Queens Bastion
Princess Bastion
Brouillan Bastion
Maurepas Bastion
Small Arms Curtain
Explanation
1 Glacis
2 Covert Way
3 Traverses
4 Ditch
5 Parapet
6 Rampart
7 Talus or Slope of the Rampart
8 Caremate
9 Fortified Caremate
10 Guard Houses
11 Governors Apartments
12 Chapel
13 Barracks
14 Powder Magazine
15 Fortification House
16 Arsenal & Bake House
The Profile
a. Glacis
b. Banquet
c. Covert Way
d. Countenscarp
e. Ditch
f. Parapet
g. Banquet
h. Rampart
i. Talus
Scale of Feet
200 400 600
A PLAN of the CITY, and FORTIFICATIONS, of
LOUISBURG,
from a Survey made by RICHARD GRIDLEY,
Lieut. Coll. of the Train of Artillery in 1745.
This important Fortress was taken on the 17th June
1745 after a Siege of 49 Days by Nine Regiments
that were Raised & Equipped in 30 Days in New England
and commanded by Sr Willm Pepperill assisted by a
Fleet under the Command of Commodore Warren,
with the loss of 101 Men killed, and 30 that died by
Sickness. This Place was afterwards
restored to the French by the
Treaty of Aix la Chapel
THE ENCAMPMENT of the BRITISH TROOPS
Here the New England Forces
Landed, before the detachment from
Louisburg could come round to
oppose them. April 30. 1745.
THE RAND DIVISION
GABARUS
Flat Point
Miles
Published by Thos Jefferys, Geographer
Prince of Wales

References to the Siege in 1758.
A. The Place were the English Landed.
B. Lines made and
C. A Battery erected by the French to oppose the English Landing.

A PLAN of the CITY and HARBOUR of LOUISBURG, with the French Batteries that defended it, and those of the English, shewing that part of GABARUS BAY, in which they Landed, and the Ground on which they Encamped during the Siege in 1758.

Settlements, which were destroyed May 2d on which the Garrison with Royal Battery immediately Deserted it.

BURYING GROUND

June Hills

A New Battery erected since 1748

North East Harbor

HARBOR OF LOUISBURG

Royal Battery Built by the French

Careening Place

Light House

English Battery Erected 1745 Demolished 1758

North Cape

Apollo Bank

Island Battery

City of Louisburg

Goat Island

Green Island

Black Cape

The Encampment of the BRITISH TROOPS during the SIEGE in 1758

Barrasois

The Epaulment

Flat Point

Here the British Fleet and Transports Anchored April 30 1758 but the Forces were prevented from Landing by a detachment from Louisburg

Flat Point Cove

White Point

Detachments of the Left Wing

Detachments of the Right Wing

Miles

A Map of GABARUS BAY, adjoining to Louisburg.

NB. This Bay is so extensive that the whole British Navy may ride in it with safety.

Louisburg Harb

White Point

BAY OF GABARUS

Gabarus Point

Grand Cormorandier

Scale of Miles

I à Guon

Prince of Wales at Charing Cross, Octob.r 9. 1758.

A [illegible] French officer obſerved that in all hiſtory he had never met with ſuch a bold inſtance as of 4300 raw undiſciplined men laying ſiege

to ſo ſtrong and well fortified a city, with ſuch a garriſon, batteries, *&c.* as he thought might have held out againſt an army of 30,000 men; that he never heard of ſuch intrepidity in men, who regarded neither fire nor bombs; was quite ſurpriſed to ſee batteries raiſed in a night's time, particularly the faſſine battery, within twenty five roods of the city wall, to which guns of forty two pounders were dragged by the beſiegers two miles through a very rough road.

The news of this ſucceſs was received with great rejoicings in *England*, and the conqueſt was thought ſo important, that at a court of aldermen of *London* it was moved by aldermen *R—n* that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the committee for drawing up an addreſs of congratulation *to deſire his majeſty that he would moſt graciouſly be pleaſed not to ſuffer it to be given up by a general peace.* But to this it was objected by Sir *J—n B—d* that it was quite improper to the miniſtry, and more unjuſt ſtill to tie them down in making a peace. At laſt it was agreed in their addreſs, after grateful returns to heaven for the conqueſt of *Cape Breton*, as ſecuring to his majeſty's ſubjects a free and uninterrupted trade to *America*, and protecting them from the inſults of a dangerous and ravenous enemy, to expreſs their minds in the following moſt reſpectful and unexceptionable clauſe, *And we entirely rely on your royal patronage and protection to ſecure to your kingdoms the perpetual enjoyment of this valuable acquiſition.* Debate and clauſe in a congratulatory addreſs.

The place however was, with infinite regret, eſpecially of the *Engliſh* Northern colonies, reſtored to the *French* by the Vth article of the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1748, by which it was provided that all conqueſts made during the war, ſhould be reciprocally reſtored; and by the IXth, two *Engliſh* noblemen of the firſt diſtinction was ſent to *France* as hoſtages with certain advice of their evacuations. In vain had the troops of the colonies which had been levied by order of the ſecretary of ſtate, kept the field all the next ſummer of 1746, in expectation of a fleet and army for the reduction of *Canada*, which they were made to hope. Very probably the *Engliſh* miniſtry might, upon deliberation, conſider ſuch an expedition, beſides the hazard, of no benefit to the common cauſe, ſince, if it ſucceeded, they would be under a neceſſity of reſtoring ſuch conqueſts for the ſame reaſon as they did *Louiſbourg*, in exchange for the *Auſtrian Netherlands* and *Madraſs*. Wherefore orders were received in *October* 1747 for diſbanding the troops of the colonies, and the *Engliſh* navy and land forces made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Port *L'orient*. We paſs over ſlightly ſome intermediate events of leſs conſequence, as ſome fruitleſs attempts of the *French* upon *Annapolis*; the ſurpriſe of a party of *New Engliſh* by a body of *French* and *Indians* in *Minas*, through the treachery, as it was ſaid, of the *French* inhabitants, with the loſs of Colonel *Noble* and many other private men; the expedition of the *French* admiral *d'Anville*, with a ſtrong ſquadron againſt *Nova Scotia*, which, through ſickneſs and other diſappointments, proved abortive; and the miſcarriage of another *French* ſquadron deſtined for *Nova Scotia* and *Canada*, which was intercepted by the admirals *Anſon* and *Warren*, *May* 3, 1747; juſt to mention the ſix other men of war taken by Admiral *Hawke* out of a ſquadron of eight, on *October* 14, of the ſame year.

In 1755, the hoſtilities committed the year before by the *French* near the *Ohio*, made the preparation of war on each ſide quite neceſſary, though as yet without a declaration, wherefore in conſequence of advice that a *French* fleet was ſailed with men and ſtores for *Canada*, Admiral *Boſcawen* was ſent with a ſquadron to intercept them. He came up with them the 10th of *June*, and after ſome reſiſtance took the *Alcide* of ſixty four guns and four hundred and eighty men, and the *Lys* pierced for ſixty five guns, but mounted only twenty two, and carrying eight companies of land forces, both ſeparated from the fleet by a fog, under favour of which the reſt eſcaped.

On *September* 6, orders were iſſued by the *Britiſh* court to all the fleets, ſquadrons, and ſingle ſhips then out, to make repriſals of *French* ſhips. On *May* 17, 1756, *England* declared war againſt *France*, alledging for motives the encroachment of the *French*, particularly in *Nova Scotia*, the depoſſeſſing the *Engliſh* of a fort on the *Ohio*, in *April* 1754, the reparation of *Dunkirk*, and the invaſion of *Minorca*. This was ſoon followed by the *French* king's declaration, in which he labours hard to prove *England* the aggreſſor.

In 1757 it was reſolved to give a deciſive blow, and the reduction of *Cape Breton* was propoſed as the firſt ſtep, and moſt likely to produce either an honourable peace, or the total reduction of *Canada*. The Earl of *Loudoun* was appointed Captain General

of the *American* forces, who, after having made proper conveniences at *Halifax*, for the recovery of the ſick and wounded men, in caſe the attack of *Louiſbourg* ſhould take place, on *July* 9, Admiral *Holbourn* arrived with the forces from *England*, and now there was a glorious appearance at *Halifax*; for the whole armament was computed at eleven thouſand, effective land forces, ſeventeen ſhips of the line, fourteen frigates and ſloops, two bomb veſſels, and one fire ſhip, beſides about one hundred and eighty tranſports, with three general officer and two admirals.

The land forces were divided into three brigades under Majors General *Abercrombie*, *Hepſon*, and Lord *Charles Hay*, and ſince it would be unjuſtifiable to carry the forces againſt *Louiſbourg* without proper intelligence of the enemy's ſtrength, and whether a deſcent was practicable or not, the Captain General, in order to enure the men, exerciſed them in ſham fights and mock ſieges. But it ſeems theſe meaſures were condemned by ſome " as keeping the courage of the ſoldiers at bay, and expending the nation's wealth in making ſham fights, and planting cabbages when they ought to have been attacking or fighting the enemy of their king and country in reality." A council being called *July* 31, and the tendency of ſuch public reflections on the conduct of affairs well conſidered, it was thought fit to order Lord *Charles Hay* to whom they were aſcribed under arreſt. However on *Auguſt* the firſt and ſecond the troops embarked, and orders were given to rendezvous at *Gabarous* bay, two leagues Weſt of *Louiſbourg*. But on the fourth was brought in a *French* prize ſchooner, on board of which were letters directed to *Old France*, with an account of the arrival of a large fleet, and that there were then in the harbour ſeventeen ſhips of the line and twelve frigates, with four thouſand regulars, beſides three thouſand men belonging to the garriſon. A council of war being called, the former orders were immediately countermanded, all the faſſine ſhips were ſent to *St George*'s iſland to unload; *Blakeney*'s, *Murray*'s, and *Kennedy*'s regiments were ordered to the bay of *Fundy* under the command of governor *Lawrence*; all the reſt had orders to return to *New York*, except the firſt and ſecond battalion of *Royal Scots*, which, with *Bragg*'s regiment, were left at *Halifax*. The Earl of *Loudoun* ſailed with the reſt of the troops from *Halifax* on *Auguſt* 16, and receiving on his paſſage the unwelcome news of the loſs of fort *William Henry*, arrived on the thirtieth at *New York*, where the men were immediately put on board ſmall veſſels, and ſent up to *Albany*. Admiral *Holbourn* ſailed to block up the harbour of *Louiſbourg*, in hopes that as the ſeaſon was approaching when the *French* fleet would be obliged to return home, he ſhould be able to give a good account of them. He remained off *Louiſbourg* till *September* 24, when his fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, with the loſs of the *Tilbury* of ſixty guns, and moſt of her men.

Conduct of the commanders juſtifiable.

Thus ended this unfortunate campaign to the *Engliſh* in *North America*, not without the reſentment of ſome great perſons againſt the commanders for not attempting a deſcent on *Cape Breton*. But it ought to be conſidered, that, beſides the ſtrong garriſon at *Louiſbourg*, the naval force was not only at beſt but little ſuperior to the *French*, as indiſputably appeared afterwards by the arrival of ſeventeen ſhips of the line, though indeed with very ſickly crews, on *November* 25, from *Louiſbourg* at *Breſt*, but was alſo diſpatched too late in the year; whereas all hopes of ſucceſs in an attempt upon *Louiſbourg* muſt depend on attacking it early in the ſpring before it can receive ſupplies from *Europe* or *Quebec*. This aſſertion ſeems ſufficiently juſtified by the ſucceſsful ſieges of that fortreſs in 1745 before deſcribed, and of 1758 about to be related, both undertaken as early as the ſeaſon would admit, and with the advantages of numbers by ſea and land. To this we might add that the firſt was unexpected, and the place, in a manner unprovided for defence; in this laſt the naval force in the harbour, though not one third of what is now conſidered, was yet ſufficient greatly to annoy the men in the trenches, and obſtruct the progreſs. What then could be expected from ſo formidable an armament but repulſe with ſhame and detriment, and conſequences not to be imagined without horror?

Siege and conqueſt of *Louiſbourg* in 1758.

In 1758, after extraordinary preparations, which from paſt experience appeared to be neceſſary, during the winter, Admiral *Boſcawen*, appointed to command in a new expedition againſt *Cape Breton*, ſailed ſo early as *February* 19, with five large ſhips of war, three frigates, and two fire ſhips for *North America*. *March* 12, a general embargo was laid on all ſhipping at *New York*; the Earl of *Loudon* was ſuperſeded in his command by Major General *Abercrombie*, and, on *June* the firſt arrived at *Portſmouth*. About the latter end of *April* a *French* man of war, two frigates, and

two

two pinks, with a battalion of foreign volunteers, ammunition, proviſions, and ſtores, arrived at *Louiſbourg*. On *May* 28, Admiral *Boſcawen* ſailed from *Halifax* with the fleet and troops, and was met by Major General *Amherſt*, appointed to the command of the land forces. The whole fleet conſiſted of one hundred and forty ſeven ſail, and on *June* 2, came in ſight of *Louiſbourg*, and anchored in *Gabaron* bay. The *French* had a chain of poſts from point *Noire* to the *Flat Point*, and poſted irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay, and thrown up works at all places where it appeared practicable to land, and ſome batteries. From the ſecond to the ſixth the high wind and ſurf, or a great ſwell and fog would not ſuffer the troops to attempt landing, during which time the *French* reinforced their poſts, added to their works, and cannonaded and threw ſhells at the ſhips. On the eighth the troops aſſembled in the road before day-break in three diviſions, and Commodore *Durell* giving his opinion that the troops might land without danger from the ſurf, the left diviſion began to fire, and was followed by the centre and right. When the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats on the left rowed to the ſhore under the command of Brigadier General *Wolfe*, whoſe detachment conſiſted of the four oldeſt companies of grenadiers, followed by the light infantry (a company of five hundred and fifty men, choſen as markſmen from the different regiments) commanded by major *Scott*, and the companies of rangers ſupported by the Highland regiment, and that by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers. The diviſion on the right commanded by Brigadier General *Whitmore*, and compoſed of the royal regiment and thoſe of *Laſſelles*, *Moonckton*, *Forbes*, *Anſtruther*, and *Webb*, rowed to the right by the *White Point*, as if intending to land there. The center diviſion, commanded by Brigadier General *Lawrence*, and formed of *Amherſt*'s, *Hopſon*'s, *Otway*'s, *Lawrence*'s, and *Warburton*'s regiments, made a ſhow at the ſame time of landing at the *White Cove*. This drew the enemies attention in every part, and prevented their troops, poſted along the coaſt, from joining them on their right. They very wiſely ſaved their ammunition till the boats were near in ſhore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and muſquetry upon them. But in ſpite of this, and the violence of the ſurf, Brigadier *Wolfe* purſued his point, and landed juſt at the left of the cove, took poſt, attacked the enemy, and forced them to retreat. Many boats overſet, ſeveral broke to pieces, and all the men jumped into the water to get on ſhore; about one hundred and ten boats were loſt in landing the troops and proviſions. As ſoon as the left diviſion was landed, the center and right diviſion rowed alſo to the left as faſt as the boats could fetch them from the ſhips, and got on ſhore, which took up a great deal of time. The loſs of the *Engliſh* was a captain, four lieutenants, an enſign, four ſerjeants, a corporal, and forty ſix men killed, among them twenty four grenadiers of *Amherſt*'s regiment, eight of whom were ſhot, and the reſt drowned in trying to get aſhore. The wounded were five lieutenants, four ſerjeants, a corporal, and fifty two private men. The *French* had an officer with an *Indian* chief, and ſeveral others killed; and two captains of grenadiers, two lieutenants, and about ſeventy men taken, with three twenty four pounders, ſeven nine pounders, ſeven ſix pounders, two mortars, and fourteen ſwivels, with ammunition, tools, and ſtores of all kinds. The priſoners gave information that the garriſon conſiſted of five regiments, beſides ſeven hundred *Canadians*. The ninth and tenth the weather proving bad, and the ſurf great, only ſome tents could be got on ſhore. On the 11th the light ſix pounders with ſome artillery ſtores were landed. On the 12th, on intelligence that the *French* had deſtroyed the grand battery, and called in their outpoſts, Brigadier *Wolfe* was detached with twelve hundred men, four companies of grenadiers, three companies of rangers, and ſome light infantry round the North Eaſt harbour, to the lighthouſe point, with an intention to ſilence the iſland battery, and attempt to deſtroy the ſhips in the harbour; but the enemy had abandoned the lighthouſe point, and all the poſts on that ſide the harbour, leaving ſeveral cannon rendered uſeleſs, with implements, and a great quantity of fiſh at *Lorembec*. On the 13th the beſiegers began a communication from the right to the left, and to erect three redoubts on the moſt advantageous ground in the front of their camp. The beſieged made a ſally but were ſoon repulſed with the loſs of five men killed and forty wounded. The 14th, the fleet under Sir *Charles Hardy*, which had appeared the day before, was in the night blown off to ſea. The 15th, four more mortars were ſent to the lighthouſe; and the 16th, being the firſt fine weather, twelve days proviſion, and many other things, but no artillery were nor could be yet landed. The 17th the general

neral, with Colonel *Williamſon*, Major *Mackellar*, and Col. *Baſtide*, chief engineer, reconnoitred the ground, and *Baſtide* was determined in his opinion of making approaches by the *Greenhill*, and confining the demolition of the ſhips in the harbour to the light houſe batteries; on which eight one inch mortars, and three royals were added to them. The 18th fine weather, the *Indians* took three of the tranſports men, who had landed at the bottom of *Gabaron* bay contrary to orders; the road for the artillery was puſhed on, and three twenty four pounders were got on ſhore. On the 19th, the *Echo*, a *French* frigate of thirty two guns bound to *Quebec*, was brought in; ſhe had got out on the 13th at night, and informed us that the *Bizarre* frigate had got out the day the troops landed, and the *Comette* frigate ſince our arrival off the harbour. On the 20th, the iſland battery, and ſhips, began to fire at the batteries on the ſhore, which had begun their fire the night before; the beſieged burnt an old ſhip at the bottom of the harbour. On the 21ſt, the *French* canonaded the beſiegers, making the road for the artillery, and threw ſome ſhot into the left of the camp; an advanced redoubt towards *Greenhill* was thrown up at night. The 22d was employed on the roads, and getting up a block houſe on the left, by the *Miray* road, to ſecure the communication with the North Eaſt harbour, and lighthouſe point, and to hinder any parties from getting into the town. On the 23d the beſiegers had on ſhore twelve twenty four pounders, and ſix twelve pounders. Colonel *Meſſervey* and moſt of his carpenters were taken ill of the ſmall pox, to the very great detriment of the army. Gabions and faſcines were landed to make an epaulment on *Greenhill*. On the 24th the beſieged played on the lighthouſe batteries from the town and ſhipping; and, from the town, on the advanced redoubt which was finiſhed. On the 25th, the cannonading continued night and day. In the evening the lighthouſe batteries ſilenced the iſland battery, its own fire helping to break down part of the works; faſcines and gabions were forwarded to *Greenhill*; the beſieged fired much at the advanced redoubt. On the 26th the garriſon ſallied, and got up to the block-houſe not quite finiſhed, with a barrel of pitch to ſet it on fire, and two of the men got into it; but a detachment was ſent out ſo quick to ſupport the guards that they were forced to a precipitate retreat into the town; three hundred pioneers were ordered to *Greenhill*; Admiral *Boſcawen* landed two hundred marines, who took poſt at *Kennington* cove, which was a great eaſe to the army; four thirty two pounders, and two twenty four pounders were deſired of the admiral (and landed the night of the 27th) for the lighthouſe, to keep the iſland battery in ruins, that Brigadier *Wolfe*, having a proper number of men there intrenched, might with his detachment be able to come round the harbour, bringing his artillery with him, and try to deſtroy the ſhipping and advance towards the Weſt gate. On the 27th a braſs twenty four pounder was loſt in twelve fathom water, by ſlipping off the catamaran (a kind of raft much uſed at ſea). On the 28th the poſt at *Greenhill* being covered, a road was begun over the bog by throwing up an epaulment. Colonel *Meſſervey* and his ſon both died, and of his company of one hundred and eight carpenters, all lay ill of the ſmall pox except ſixteen, who attended the ſick.

On the 29th the frigate fired conſtantly at the epaulment; the working on the road, which coſt much labour was purſued. At night the beſieged ſunk four ſhips in the harbour; the *Apollo* a two decked one, *la Fidelle* thirty ſix guns, and *la Cheve* and *la Biche* of ſixteen guns each, and cut off moſt of their maſts. On the 30th the frigate fired all night at the epaulment, as the men worked in the night-time. On *July* 1, the beſieged ſallying out in the morning to get ſome old palliſades and wood, were puſhed in by Brigadier *Wolfe* and Major *Scott*'s light infantry with a very briſk fire. The brigadier took poſt on the hills, from whence it was intended to try to demoliſh the ſhipping. The trenches were advanced to the right, and the beſieged forced back to *Cape Noire* with a ſmart fire. On the 2d the epaulment and road went on heavily from the extreme badneſs of the ground. The beſieged continued their cannonading, and threw ſome ſhells, ſkirmiſhing all day with parties out of the town. On the 3d a great cannonading from the town and ſhipping on the batteries. Brigadier *Wolfe* was making an advanced work to the right, at ſix hundred and fifty yards from the covered way, for erecting a battery to deſtroy the defences of the place. On the 4th a great fog; when there was any gloom of light the cannonading was renewed; five hundred men kept continually making faſcines. The 5th very bad weather; the epaulment ſwallowed up an immenſe number of faſcines, and coſt ſome men, as the frigate cannonaded it inceſſantly. On the 6th a ſloop ſailed out of the harbour with

a flag

flag of truce to ſir *Charles Hardy*, to carry ſome things to their wounded officers and priſoners. 7. Very foggy weather, cannonading all day. 8. An attack, intended on ſome advanced poſt at *Cape Noir*, did not take place. Col. *Baſtide* got a contuſion by a muſket ball on his boot, which laid him up in the gout. 9. At night the beſieged made a ſally from *Cape Noir* with 5 picquets, ſupported by 600 men, upon brig. *Lawrence*'s quarters, and ſurpriſed a company of *Forbes*'s grenadiers, commanded by Col. *Dundonald*, who was killed, with one corporal and 3 men. Lieutenant *Tew* was wounded and taken priſoner. Capt. *Bontein* of the engineers was alſo taken priſoner, 17 others were wounded, and a ſerjeant and 11 others miſſing. Major *Murray*, who commanded 3 companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one, which eaſily repulſed the enemy, who had one captain, chevalier *de Chanvelin*, and 17 men killed, a lieutenant and 4 other, wounded and taken priſoners, beſides what they carried away, of whom a captain died immediately. The beſieged ſent out a flag of truce to bury their dead, which done, the cannonading was renewed. The frigate was to hurt that ſhe hauled cloſe to the ſhore; the ſhips fired very much againſt brigadier *Wolfe*'s batteries. 10. The attack at the epaulment went on a little better. 11. A waggoner was carried off by ſome *Indians* between the blockhouſe, and the left of the N. E. harbour. 12. It rained very hard all night, an advanced work to *Greenhill* was made; the waggoner made his eſcape; the citadel baſtion fired very ſmartly. 13. The beſieged threw a number of ſhells, and worked at *Cape Noir* to keep poſſeſſion of that poſt, which was of no conſequence; the beſiegers perfected their works with all poſſible ſpeed, had rainy weather. Deſerters informed us that a party from *Miray* had got in 3 days ago. 14. Batteries had been traced out the night before for placing twenty 24 pounders, in four diviſions, to deſtroy the defences, and a battery of 7 mortars with ſome 12 pounders, to ricochet * the works and the town. 15. The beſieged tried to throw ſome ſhells into the camp, intended againſt the powder magazine. At 10 at night the lighthouſe battery fired ſome rockets as a ſignal of ſhips ſailing out of the harbour. Sir *Charles* anſwered it; but a frigate got out, and *Hardy*'s fleet got under ſail and went to ſea. Before daybreak Capt. *Sutherland*, poſted at the end of N. E. harbour, was attacked by 100 men from *Miray*, where they left M. *de Boiſbert*, who had on the other ſide of the water 300 men with boats ready to paſs. The grenadiers of *Wolfe*'s corps, and all the light infantry were ſent to ſuſtain him, but the action was over before they could come up, the general encamped a corps forward. 16. Towards night brigadier *Wolfe* took poſſeſſion of the hill, in the front of the *Baraſoy*, and made a lodgment there; the enemy fired very briſkly from the town and ſhipping. 17. It was reſolved to extend the parallel from right to left. 18. All laſt night the enemy fired muſketry from the covered way, and tried to throw ſhells into the camp. 19. The trenches were relieved by 14 battalions forming 3 brigades; a ſmart fire from the covert way; the batteries on the left played upon the baſtion Dauphine with great ſucceſs. 21. One of the ſhips in the harbour had ſome powder blown up in her, which made a great exploſion, and ſet her on fire. The flames ſoon caught the ſails of two ſhips more, and they burnt very faſt, while the beſiegers kept firing at them to hinder aſſiſtance from the town. The 3 burnt ſhips were the *Entreprenant* of 74 guns, and the *Capricieux* and *Celebre* of 64 guns each. 22. The batteries on the right opened with thirteen 24 pounders, and another of 7 mortars, and fired with great ſucceſs; the enemy fired very well from the town for ſome time, and threw ſhells into the works of the camp; the ſhells of the beſiegers put the citadel in flames. The general ordered col. *Williamſon* to confine his fire as much as poſſible to the defences, ſparing the houſes. A lieutenant of the *Royal Americans* going his rounds, on an advanced poſt, loſt his way, and was taken priſoner near *Cape Noir*; a battery was begun on the left for four 24 pounders. 23. The cohorns and *French* mortars ſent to throw ſtones into the trenches were uſed at night. The beſiegers fired all ſorts of old iron, and ſtuff they could pick up. Col. *Baſtide* was out for the firſt time ſince he received the contuſion; at night the ſhells ſet fire to the barracks of the garriſon, and they burned with great violence. 24. The fire of the beſiegers was very briſk, and that of the garriſon decreaſed. The admiral ſent 400 men to help work at the batteries, and 100 miners to be added to a corps of 100 already eſtabliſhed, in order to

* From the *French* word *Ricochet*, "a ſkipping or bounding," is to throw a ball where intended, after firſt grazing and bounding, as a flat ſtone hurled aſlant ſkips on the ſurface of water, occaſioned by a deficient charge of powder, deſigned for ſtriking an object in that manner.

make quick work. The four gun batteries opened, and another of five was on erection. The *Bienfaifant* fired on the trenches at high water, and the citadel and the baſtion Dauphine fired againſt the five gun battery; but the men firing ſmall arms into the embraſures, beat the beſieged off their guns. 25. The miners and workmen went on very well with their approaches to the covered way, tho' they had a continued and very ſmart fire from it, with grape ſhot, and all ſorts of old iron from the guns of the ramparts. The beſiegers kept an inceſſant fire and ricochet. In the night between the 20th and 21ſt, the admiral detached the boats of his ſquadron in two diviſions, under Captains *Laforey* and *Balfour* againſt the *Prudence* of 74 guns, and the *Bienfaifant* of 64 guns, the only remaining *French* ſhips in the harbour. They ſucceeded ſo well as to burn the *Prudence*, it being aground, and to tow off the *Bienfaifant* into the N. E. harbour, with the loſs only of 7 men killed, and 9 wounded, though expoſed to the fire of the cannon and muſketry of the iſland battery, being favoured by a dark night, and an inceſſant fire from all the batteries into the works, to keep the enemy's attention to the land. 26. The admiral came on ſhore, and intimated his intention to ſend ſix ſhips into the harbour the next day. At this inſtant the general received a letter from the Chevalier *Drucour*, governor of the town, offering to capitulate. And they agreed to ſurrender to Admiral *Boſcawen* and Maj. Gen. *Amherſt*, the town of *Louiſbourg*, and the iſlands of *Cape Breton* and St. *John's*, and their appurtenances, with all the artillery, ammunition, arms, and proviſions; the garriſon of *Louiſbourg* to be priſoners of war, and tranſported to *England* in *Britiſh* ſhips; the governor to give his word that the troops in the iſland of St. *John's*, and its appurtenances, ſhall go aboard ſuch ſhips as the admiral ſhall ſend to receive them; the gate called *Porte Dauphine* to be given up at 8 o'clock the next morning, and the garriſon, including all that carried arms, to be drawn up there on the eſplanade, or great ſquare, where they ſhall lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war, and go on board in order to be carried to *England*, at a convenient time; the ſame care to be taken of the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals, as of thoſe belonging to his *Britannic* majeſty; the merchants and their clerks, who have not carried arms, to be ſent to *France* in ſuch manner as the admiral ſhall think proper.

Loſs of the garriſon and beſiegers.

The number of the garriſon, including 214 officers, and 443 ſick and wounded, amounted to 3031; and of ſeamen and marines, inclusive of 135 officers, and 1347 ſick and wounded, was 2606; total 5637. Of the beſiegers were killed, 21 commiſſion and non-commiſſioned officers, 146 private men, 1 gunner, and 3 matroſſes; wounded, 30 commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers, 2 drummers, and 315 private men; of the artillery, 1 corporal, 1 gunner, and 3 matroſſes.

In the fortreſs were found iron ordnance, compleatly mounted, from 36 to 4 pounders, 218; brais mortars, in beds, 12 and half inches, 3; 3 inches 1; 6 and a half 3; iron mortars, on beds, 12 and a half inches 6, 11 — 4; 9 and a half — 1; muſquets with accoutrements, 7500; powder, whole barrels, 600; cartridges, 80,000; balls, 13 ton; ſhells, 1053; of which 850, 13 inches; round ſhot, from 36 to 6 pounders, 9602; grape ſhot, ditto 733; caſe ſhot, 24 pounders, 53; double headed 24 pounders, 25; 12 pounders, 153; lead in pig and ſheet, 22 ton; iron of all ſorts, 6 ton; wheelbarrows, 600; ſhovels wooden, 600, and iron 400; pickaxes, 822; with plenty of other warlike implements, beſides 11 colours, whole and torn.

This ſiege, conſidering its obſtacles, appears to have been conducted with the greateſt ſkill, and vigour; and the news of the capture of this important place, the *Dunkirk* of *America*, diffuſed an univerſal joy throughout the *Britiſh* dominions. The colours, after ſome time of expoſal to publick view, were carried in triumphal proceſſion, to the cathedral of St. *Paul's*, and there ſuſpended, adding to its ſplendor, the honour and ornament of a trophy. And addreſſes of congratulation came pouring in upon the throne, from every quarter; in ſome of which, particularly from *London* and

* St. *John's* iſland, after great reluctance, and ſome weak reſiſtance of the governor of a fort that defended it, who pretended he was not bound by the capitulation of *Louiſbourg*, ſubmitted to Lieut. Col. *Rollo*, ſent to receive it; and the inhabitants, in number, at *Point le Prince* 700, N. E. river 2000, St. *Peters* 700, North Point 500, W. and N. river 200, brought in their arms, and were after ſome time tranſported to *France*, as many as eſcaped ſhipwreck in their paſſage. This iſland had ſupplied *Quebec* with corn and beef ever ſince the war, having on it above 10,000 horned cattle, and many of the inhabitants growing each 1200 buſhels of corn annually. It has alſo been an aſylum for the *French* inhabitants of *Nova Scotia*; and from this iſland the *Indians* had carried on the inhuman practice of killing the *Engliſh* inhabitants of *Nova Scotia*, for the ſake of bringing their ſcalps to the *French*, who paid them for the ſame; and ſeveral ſcalps were found in the governor's quarters when Lieut. Col. *Rollo* took poſſeſſion.

Exeter

Exeter, the loyal votaries could not forbear, in the fulneſs of their hearts, to expreſs in a dutiful manner, their honeſt wiſhes, to ſee this invaluable acquiſition made an inſeparable part of the *Britiſh* empire.

The grand object of the *American* war being now attained by the conqueſt of the iſland of *Cape Breton*, and the capture of the enemy's principal forts on the continent, we ſhall conclude this hiſtory of *Canada* with an account of the ſiege of *Quebec*, the capital of all their ſettlements in that part of the world, and the magazine from whence the reſt of their fortreſſes derived their ſtores; ſo memorable an event cannot be paſt over without the moſt particular notice, as every ſtep was taken to effect it, and every difficulty that threatned to retard its accompliſhment cannot but be intereſting, as well as to thoſe who concerted the enterprize, and directed the execution, as to every ſubject of *Great Britain*.

The fifth of *May* 1759, Admiral *Durells* ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſail of the line, ſailed from *Louisbourg* for the river St. *Laurence*; the paſſage of which was found not nigh ſo hazardous as was generally imagined, they arrived at the *Iſle* aux *Coudres* the 27th, and there came to anchor.

The Admiral ſent Capt. *Gordon* in the *Devonſhire*, with two more ſail of the line and a frigate, to go through the traverſe and anchor between the *Iſle* of *Orleans* and the *Main*, and ſtationed the Princeſs of *Orange* at the *Iſle* aux *Coudres*.

On the 23d. of *June*, General *Wolfe* arrived with great part of the *Grand Fleet*, and went up immediately to *Orleans*.

For the remainder of the proceedings of the *Britiſh* fleet and army, we ſhall refer to the ſeveral letters written by the commanders in chief on that expedition, beginning with the celebrated letter from M.j. Gen. *Wolfe*, brought by Lieutenant *Percival* of the *Rodney* cutter to Mr. Secretary *Pitt*, perhaps the beſt written performance of the kind that has appeared this war. The clearneſs with which it is written, the difficulties that are foreſeen and repreſented, the manly fortitude that is notwithſtanding expreſſed, in order to ſurmount theſe difficulties, and the reſignation with which the general perſiſts in riſquing the greateſt dangers for the honour of his country, will leave a monument to his memory, more durable than marble, and more ſplendid than titles. His death, in leading on his valiant troops, in the laſt action that determined the fate of war in that country, is a circumſtance greatly to be deplored.

Head Quarters at Montmorenci, *in the River* St. Laurence, *September* 2, 1759.

SIR,

I Wiſh I could, upon this occaſion, have the honour of tranſmitting to you a more favourable account of the progreſs of his majeſty's arms; but the obſtacles we have met with, in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reaſon to expect, or could foreſee; not ſo much from the number of the enemy, (though ſuperior to us) as from the natural ſtrength of the country, which the Marquis *de Montcalm* ſeems wiſely to depend upon.

When I learned that ſuccours of all kinds had been thrown into *Quebec*; that five battalions of regular troops, compleated from the beſt inhabitants of the country, ſome of the troops of the colony and every *Canadian* that was able to bear arms, beſides ſeveral nations of ſavages, had taken the field in a very advantageous ſituation; I could not flatter myſelf that I ſhould be able to reduce the place. I ſought however an occaſion to attack their army, knowing well, that with theſe troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might diſperſe them.

We found them incamped along the ſhore of *Beaufort*, from the river St. *Charles* to the falls of *Montmorenci*, and intrenched in every acceſſible part. The 27th of *June* we landed upon the iſle of *Orleans*; but receiving a meſſage from the admiral, that there was reaſon to think that the enemy had artillery, and a force upon the point of *Levi*, detached brig. *Monckton* with four battalions to drive them from thence. He paſſed the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to the point; he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that poſt: the advanced parties upon this occaſion had two or three ſkirmiſhes with the *Canadians* and *Indians*, with little loſs on either ſide.

Col. *Carleton* marched with a detachment to the weſtermoſt point of the iſle of *Orleans*, from whence our operations were likely to begin.

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It was abſolutely neceſſary to poſſeſs theſe two points, and fortify them, becauſe, from either the one or the other, the enemy might make it impoſſible for any ſhip to lie in the baſon of *Quebec*, or even within two miles of it.

Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great diſpatch near the point of *Levi*, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries: the enemy perceiving theſe works in ſome forwardneſs, paſſed the river with 1600 men to attack and deſtroy them. Unluckily they fell into confuſion, fired upon one another, and went back again; by which we loſt an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery had been ſo great, (though across the river) that the upper town is conſiderably damaged, and the lower town entirely deſtroyed.

The works, for the ſecurity of our hoſpitals and ſtores on the iſle of *Orleans*, being finiſhed, on the 9th of *July*, at night, we paſſed the N. channel, and incamped near the enemy's left, the river *Montmorenci* between us. The next morning, Capt. *Dank*'s company of rangers, poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of *Indians*, and had ſo many killed and wounded, as to be almoſt diſabled for the reſt of the campaign: the enemy alſo ſuffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the neareſt troops.

The ground, to the eaſtward of the falls, ſeemed to be (as it really is) higher than that on the enemy's ſide, and to command it in a manner which might be made uſeful to us. There is beſides a ford below the falls, which may be paſſed for ſome hours in the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes, that poſſibly means might be found of paſſing the river above, ſo as to fight M. *Montcalm*, upon terms of leſs diſadvantage than directly attacking his intrenchments. In reconnoitring the river *Montmorenci*, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the oppoſite bank was intrenched; and ſo ſteep and woody, that it was to no purpoſe to attempt a paſſage there. The eſcort was twice attacked by the *Indians*, who were as often repulſed; but in theſe rencounters we had 40 (officers and men) killed and wounded.

The 18th of *July*, two men of war, two armed ſloops, and two tranſports with ſome troops on board, paſſed by the town without any loſs, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the ſame attention on the enemy's ſide, and great difficulties on our's, ariſing from the nature of the ground, and the obſtacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared moſt, was, that if we ſhould land between the town and the river *Cape Rouge*, the body firſt landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at *St. Michael's*, about 3 miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the deſign, were preparing againſt it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar (which, being ſo near to *Quebec*, they could increaſe as they pleaſed) to play upon the ſhipping: and as it muſt have been many hours before we could attack them, (even ſuppoſing a favourable night for the boats to paſs by the town unhurt) it ſeemed ſo hazardous that I thought it beſt to deſiſt.

However, to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as poſſible, and to procure ſome intelligence, I ſent a detachment under the command of Col. *Carleton*, to land at the *Point de Trempe*, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off ſome priſoners, and all the uſeful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of *Quebec*, had retired to that place, and that probably we ſhould find a magazine of proviſions there.

The colonel was fired upon by a body of *Indians* the moment he landed, but they were ſoon diſperſed and driven into the woods, he ſearched for magazines, but to no purpoſe, brought off ſome priſoners, and returned with little loſs.

After this buſineſs, I came back to *Montmorenci*, where I found that brig. *Tweedſend* had, by a ſuperior fire, prevented the *French* from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now reſolved to take the firſt opportunity which preſented itſelf, of attacking the enemy, though poſted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive us.

As the men of war cannot (for want of a ſufficient depth of water) come near enough to the enemy's intrenchments, to annoy them in the leaſt, the admiral had prepared two tranſports (drawing but little water) which upon occaſions could be run

aground

a-ground, to favour a deſcent. With the help of theſe veſſels, which I underſtood would be carried by the tide cloſe in ſhore, I propoſed to make myſelf maſter of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, and whoſe ſituation appeared to be out of muſket ſhot of the intrenchment upon the hill: If the enemy ſupported this detached piece, it would neceſſarily bring on an engagement, what we moſt wiſhed for; and if not, I ſhould have it in my power to examine their ſituation, ſo as to be able to determine where we could beſt attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31ſt *July* in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brig. *Monckton*'s brigade from the point of *Levi*: The two brigades under the brigadiers *Townſhend* and *Murray*, were ordered to be in readineſs to paſs the ford, when it ſhould be thought neceſſary. To facilitate the paſſage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, ſo that ſhe might check the fire of the lower battery which commanded the ford: This ſhip was of great uſe, as her fire was very judiciouſly directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, ſo as to batter and infilade the left of their intrenchments.

From the veſſel which run a-ground neareſt in, I obſerved that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loſs; and the more, as the two arm'd ſlips could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and muſkquetry, which I at firſt conceived they might. But as the enemy ſeemed in ſome confuſion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. Orders were ſent to the brigadiers general to be ready with the corps under their command. Brig. *Monckton* to land, and the Brigs. *Townſhend* and *Murray* to paſs the Ford.

At a proper time of the tide, the ſignal was made, but in rowing towards the ſhore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge, that runs off a conſiderable diſtance. This accident put us into ſome diſorder, loſt a great deal of time, and obliged me to ſend an officer to ſtop Brig. *Townſhend*'s march, whom I then obſerved to be in motion. While the ſeamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of ſhells and ſhot, but did no conſiderable damage. As ſoon us this diſorder could be ſet a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, ſome of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land: We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as ſoon as we had found a fit part of the ſhore, the troops were ordered to diſembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

The 13 companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the ſecond royal *American* battalion, got firſt on ſhore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themſelves into four diſtinct bodies, and to begin the attack, ſupported by Brig. *Monckton*'s corps, as ſoon as the troops had paſſed the ford, and were at hand to aſſiſt. But whether from the noiſe and hurry at landing, or from ſome other cauſe, the grenadiers, inſtead of forming themſelves as they were directed, ran on impetuouſly towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, without waiting for the corps which were to ſuſtain them, and join in the attack. Brig. *Monckton* was not landed, and Brig. *Townſhend* was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance, tho' upon his march to join us, in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's firſt fire, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves in our about the redoubt, which the *French* abandoned upon their approach. In this ſituation they continued for ſome time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who (careleſs of their perſons) had been ſolely intent upon their duty. I ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of calling them off, that they might form themſelves behind Brig. *Monckton*'s corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach, in extream good order.

By this new accident, and this ſecond delay, it was near night, a ſudden ſtorm came on, and the tide begin to make; ſo that I thought it moſt adviſeable, not to perſevere in ſo difficult an attack, leaſt (in caſe of a repulſe) the retreat of Brig. *Townſhend*'s corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigs. *Townſhend* and *Murray* were to have attacked; and it is probable, that if thoſe accidents I have ſpoken of, had not happened, we ſhould have penetrated there, whilſt our left and center (more remote from our artillery) muſt have bore all the violence of their muſquetry.

The *French* did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their Savages came down to murder ſuch wounded as could not be brought off, and to ſcalp the dead as their cuſtom is.

The place, where the attack was intended, has theſe advantages over all others hereabout. Our artillery could be brought into uſe. The greateſt part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat (in caſe of a repulſe) was ſecure, at leaſt for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of theſe advantages can any where elſe be found. The enemy were indeed poſted upon a commanding eminence. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by ſeveral gullies. The hill to be aſcended, very ſteep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their intrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had ſucceeded, our loſs muſt certainly have been great, and theirs inconſiderable, from the ſhelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river of *St Charles* ſtill remained to be paſſed, before the town was inveſted. All theſe circumſtances I conſidered; but the deſire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, perſuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

Immediately after this check, I ſent Brig. *Murray* above the town with 1200 men, directing him to aſſiſt rear admiral *Holmes* in the deſtruction of the *French* ſhips, (if they could be got at) in order to open a communication with General *Amherſt*. The Brig. was to ſeek every favourable opportunity of fighting ſome of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to uſe all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north ſhore without ſucceſs; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at *de Chambaud*, and burnt a magazine there, in which were ſome proviſions, ſome ammunition, and all the ſpare ſtores, clothing, arms, and baggage, of their army.

The priſoners he took informed him of the ſurrender of the fort of *Niagara*; and we diſcovered, by intercepted letters that the enemy had abandoned *Carillon* and *Crown Point*, were retired to the iſle *Aux Noix*; and that General *Amherſt* was making preparations to paſs the lake *Champlain*, to fall upon M. *Bourlemaque*'s corps, which conſiſts of 3 battalions of foot, and as many *Canadians* as make the whole amount to 3000.

The admiral's diſpatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days ſooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myſelf ſo ill, and am ſtill ſo weak, that I begged the general officers to conſult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion that, (as more ſhips and proviſions have now got above the town) they ſhould try, by conveying up a corps of 4 or 5000 men, (which is nearly the whole ſtrength of the army, after the points of *Levi* and *Orleans* are left in a proper ſtate of defence) to draw the enemy from their preſent ſituation, and bring them to an action. I have acquieſced in their propoſal, and we are preparing to put it in execution.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general aſſault; but, after conſulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmoſt attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be eaſily ſilenced by the men of war, yet the buſineſs of an aſſault would be little advanced by that, ſince the few paſſages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ſhips, which muſt receive conſiderable damage from them and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other meaſure for the public ſervice; but I could not propoſe to him an undertaking of ſo dangerous a nature, and promiſing ſo little ſucceſs.

To the uncommon ſtrength of the country, the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of theſe and the *Indians* round our different poſts, it has been impoſſible to execute any thing by ſurprize. We have had almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes with theſe ſavages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loſs on our ſide.

By the liſt of diſabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the moſt formidable part of the armament is deprived of the power of acting; yet we have almoſt the whole

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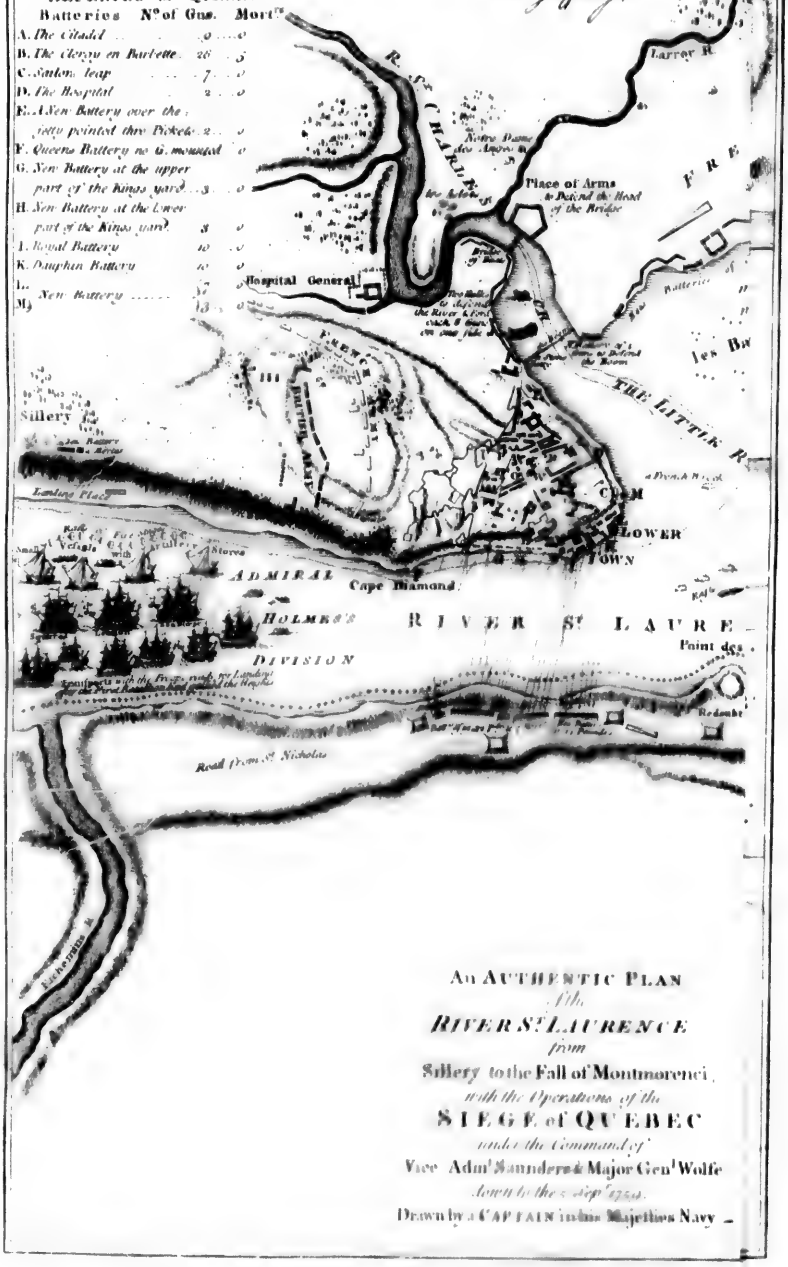
To the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT &c.
One of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counc.
AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE &c

This Plan is most Humbly Inscribed
By his most Obliged and
most Obedient Humble Serv.t
Tho.s Jefferys.

DEFENCES of QUEBEC.

Batteries	N.o of Guns.	Mort.rs
A. The Citadel	9	0
B. The Clergy en Barbette	26	5
C. Sutton leap	7	0
D. The Hospital	2	0
E. A New Battery over the Jetty pointed thro Pickets	2	0
F. Queens Battery no Guns mounted	0	
G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings yard	8	0
H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings yard	8	0
I. Royal Battery	10	0
K. Dauphin Battery	10	0
L. New Battery	17	0
M. New Battery	13	0



An AUTHENTIC PLAN
of the
RIVER St LAURENCE
from
Sillery to the Fall of Montmorenci
with the Operations of the
SIEGE of QUEBEC
under the Command of
Vice Adm.l Saunders & Major Gen.l Wolfe
down to the 3.d Sept.r 1759.
Drawn by a CAPTAIN in his Majesties Navy.

whole force of *Canada* to oppoſe. In this ſituation, there is ſuch a choice of difficulties, that I own myſelf at a loſs how to determine. The affairs of *Great Britain*, I know, require the moſt vigorous meaſures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men ſhould be exerted only, where there is ſome hope of a favourable event. However, you may be aſſured, Sir, that the ſmall part of the campaign which remains, ſhall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majeſty and the intereſt of the nation, in which I am ſure of being well ſeconded by the Admiral and by the Generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in any other parts of *America*. I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect, Sir, your moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

JAMES WOLFE.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	*Miſſing.*
Officers — — — — — —	11	46	0
Serjeants — — — — — —	9	26	0
Drummers — — — — —	0	7	0
Rank and file — — — — —	162	572	17
Total	182	651	17

Stirling Caſtle, off Point Levi, Sept. 5.

SIR,

IN my letter of the 6th of *June*, I acquainted you I was then off *Scatari*, ſtanding for the river St *Laurence*. On the 26th, I had got up, with the firſt diviſion of the fleet and tranſports, as far as the middle of the iſle of *Orleans*, where I immediately prepared to land the troops, which I did next morning. The ſame day the ſecond and third diviſions came up, and the troops from them were landed likewiſe.

I got thus far without any loſs or accident whatever; but, directly after landing the troops, a very hard gale of wind came on, by which many anchors and ſmall boats were loſt, and much damage received among the tranſports, by driving on board each other. The ſhips that loſt moſt anchors I ſupplied from the men of war, as far as I was able, and, in all other reſpects, gave them the beſt aſſiſtance in my power.

On the 28th at midnight, the enemy ſent down from *Quebec* 7 fireſhips, and tho' our ſhips and tranſports were ſo numerous, and neceſſarily ſpread ſo great a part of the channel, we tow'd them all clear and a-ground, without receiving the leaſt damage from them. The next night Gen. *Monckton* paſſed the river, and landed with his brigade on the S. ſhore, and took poſt at Point *Levi*; and Gen. *Wolfe* took his on the weſtermoſt point of the iſle of *Orleans*.

On the firſt of *July* I moved up between the points of *Orleans* and *Levi*; and, it being reſolved to land on the N. ſhore, below the falls of *Montmorenci*, I ſtood, on the 3d inſtant, the *Porcupine* ſloop, and the *Boyne* armed veſſel, in the channel between *Orleans* and the N. ſhore there, to cover the landing, which took place that night.

On the 17th I ordered Capt. *Rous* of the *Sutherland*, to proceed, with the firſt fair wind and night-tide, above *Quebec*, and to take the *Diana* and *Sylverd*, with two armed ſloops, and two ſtout boats manned and loaded with proviſions. On the 18th at night they all got up, except the *Diana*, which Gen. *Wolfe* an opportunity of reconnoitring above the town; thoſe ſhips having on board ſome troops with them for that purpoſe. The *Diana* ran aſhore on the S. ſhore of Point *Levi*, and received ſo much damage that I have ſent her to *Spanish* with a number of *American* tranſports, (thoſe which received moſt damage in the ſtorm of *June*) where they are to be diſcharged; and the *Diana* having repaired her damage, is to proceed to *England*, taking with her the maſts and ſtores of the ſhips deſtroyed to accompany her.

On the 24th, at morning tide, the ſhips flowed with three flags, of near a hundred yards, which [illegible] Point [illegible]

On

To the Right Honourable **WILLIAM PITT** *Esq.r*
One of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council
AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE &c

This Plan is most Humbly Inscribed
By his most Obliged and
most Obedient Humble Servt
Tho.s Jefferys

DEFENCES of QUEBEC.

Batteries	N.o of Guns	Mort.rs
A. The Citadel	0	0
B. The Clergy en Barbette	26	5
C. Sailors leap	7	0
D. The Hospital	8	0
E. A New Battery over the Platt pointed thro Pickets	2	0
F. Queens Battery no G. mounted	0	
G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings yard	3	0
H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings yard	3	0
I. Royal Battery	10	0
K. Dauphin Battery	10	0
L.	17	0
M. New Battery	13	0

Charlebourg or le Petit Village

Barre R.

R.r St CHARLES

FRENCH INCAMPMENT

Place of Arms

Hospital General

The Place where a Feint was made by the Boats of the Fleet during the whole night, whilst the Troops landed at Sillery.

les Batures de Beauport a Shoal Dry at Low Water

THE LITTLE R.

Sillery

Boats that decoyed the Enemy's Vessels to the Boats Moored that protected the Fleet from the Rafts & Fire Ships

THE ADMIRAL B

FRIGATES

Landing Place

Vessels with Stores

Vessels with Artillery

ADMIRAL

Cape Diamond

LOWER TOWN

HOLMES'S DIVISION

RIVER St LAURENCE

Point des Pares

POINT LEVI

Cape Lauson

Redoubt

Road From St Nicholas

Foot of the Falls

Foot of the Falls

Foot of the Falls

Foot of the Falls

An AUTHENTIC PLAN
of the
RIVER St LAURENCE
from
Sillery to the Fall of Montmorenci
with the Operations of the
SIEGE of QUEBEC
under the Command of
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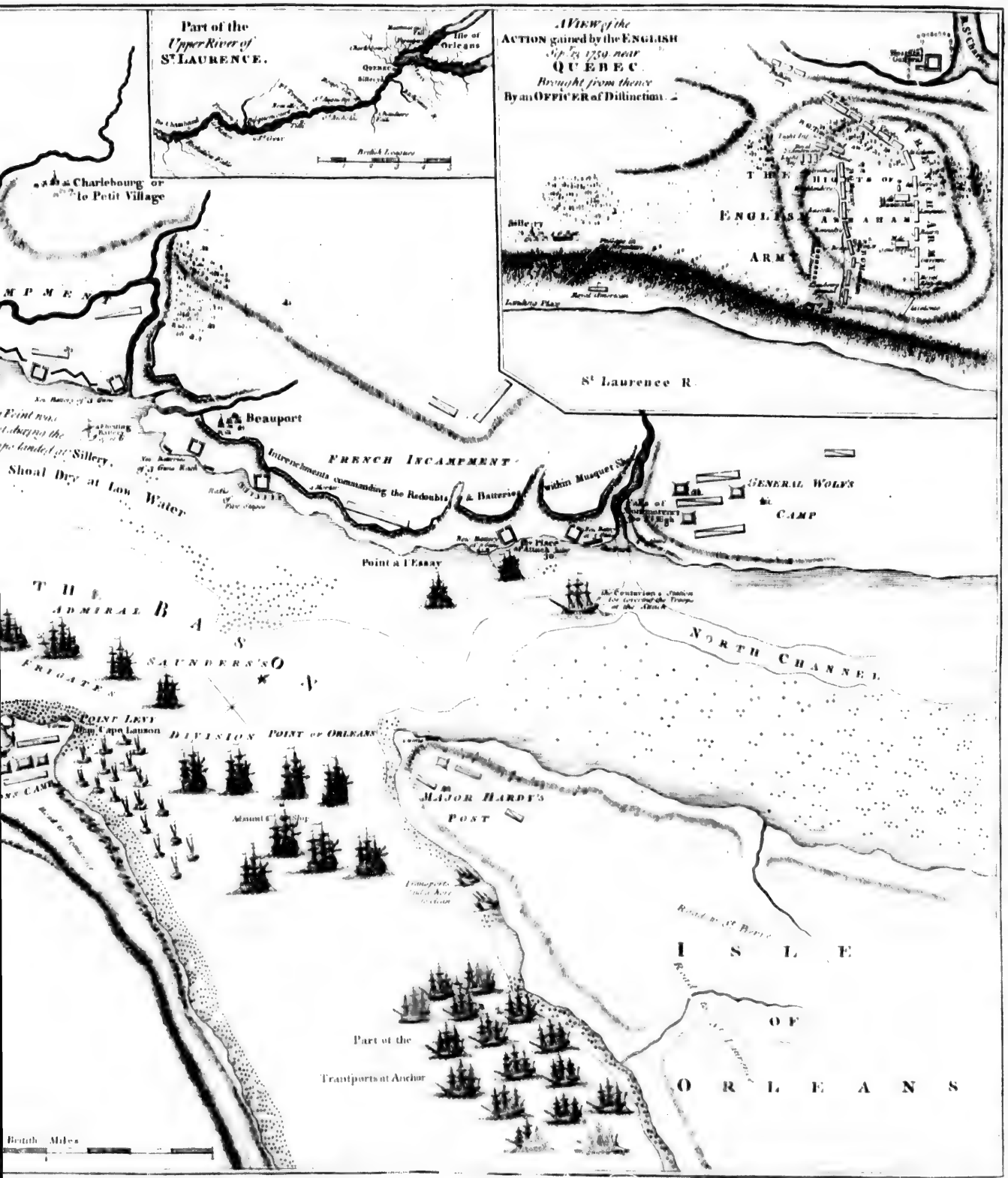
Drawn by a CAPTAIN in his Majesties Navy.

British Miles


Part of the
Upper River of
St. LAURENCE.
Isle of Orleans
A VIEW of the
ACTION gained by the ENGLISH
Sept. 13. 1759. near
QUEBEC.
Brought from thence
By an OFFICER of Distinction.
St. Charles R.
THE HEIGHTS OF
ENGLISH ABRAHAM
ARMY
Sillery
Landing Place
St. Laurence R.
Charlebourg or
le Petit Village
Beauport
FRENCH INCAMPMENT
Intrenchments commanding the Redoubts & Batteries
within Musquet Shot
GENERAL WOLFE'S
CAMP
Point a l'Essay
Shoal Dry at Low Water
THE
ADMIRAL
BASON
SAUNDERS'S
FRIGATES
NORTH CHANNEL
POINT LEVI
Cape Lauson
DIVISION
POINT of ORLEANS
MAJOR HARDY'S
POST
ISLE
OF
ORLEANS
Part of the
Transports at Anchor
British Miles

On the 31ſt, Gen. *Wolfe* determined to land a number of troops above the falls of *Montmorenci*, in order to attack the enemy's lines; to cover which, I placed the *Centurion* in the channel, between the iſle of *Orleans* and the Falls, and ran on ſhore, at high water, two catts which I had armed for that purpoſe, againſt two ſmall batteries and two redoubts, where our troops were to land. About ſix in the evening they landed, but the general not thinking it proper to perſevere in the attack, part of them ſoon after, re-embarked, and the reſt croſſed the Falls with Gen. *Wolfe*; upon which, to prevent the two catts from falling into the enemy's hands (they being then dry on ſhore) I gave orders to take the men out and ſet them on fire, which was accordingly done.

On the 5th of *Auguſt*, in the night, I ſent 20 flat-bottomed boats up the river, to the *Sutherland*, to embark 1260 of the troops with Brig. Gen. *Murray*, from a poſt we had taken on the South ſhore. I ſent Admiral *Holmes* up to the *Sutherland*, to act in concert with him, and give him all the aſſiſtance the ſhips and boats could afford. At the ſame time I directed Adm. *Holmes* to uſe his beſt endeavours to get at, and deſtroy the enemy's ſhips above the town; and to that purpoſe I ordered the *Loweſtoffe*, and *Hunter* ſloop, with two armed ſloops and two catts, with proviſions, to paſs *Quebec* and join the *Sutherland*; but the wind holding weſterly, it was the 27th of *Auguſt* before they got up, which was the fourth attempt they had made to gain their paſſage.

On the 25th, at night, Adm. *Holmes* and Gen. *Murray*, with part of the troops, returned; they had met with, and deſtroyed a magazine of the enemy's cloathing, ſome gunpowder, and other things; and Adm. *Holmes* had been ten or twelve leagues above the town, but found it impracticable at that time to get further up.

Gen *Wolfe* being reſolved to quit the camp at *Montmorenci*, and go above the town, in hopes of getting between the enemy and their proviſions, (ſuppoſed to be in the ſhips there) and by that means force them to an action, I ſent up, on the 29th at night, the *Seaborſe* and two armed ſloops, with two catts laden with proviſions, to join the reſt above *Quebec*; and having taken off all the artillery from the camp of *Montmorenci*, on the 3d inſtant in the forenoon the troops embarked from thence and landed at Point *Levi*. The 4th at night I ſent all the flat-bottomed boats up, and this night a part of the troops will march up the South ſhore, above the town, to be embarked in the ſhips and veſſels there, and to-morrow night the reſt will follow. Adm. *Holmes* is alſo gone up again to aſſiſt in their future operations, and to try, if, with the aſſiſtance of the troops, it is practicable to get at the enemy's ſhips.

As Gen. *Wolfe* writes by this opportunity, he will give you an account of his part of the operations, and his thoughts what further may be done for his majeſty's ſervice. The enemy appear numerous, and ſeem to be ſtrongly poſted; but let the event be what it will, we ſhall remain here as long as the ſeaſon of the year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence againſt Gen. *Amherſt*; and I ſhall leave cruizers at the mouth of the river to cut off any ſupplies that may be ſent them, with ſtrict orders to keep that ſtation as long as poſſible. The town of *Quebec* is not habitable, being almoſt entirely burnt and deſtroyed.

Twenty of the victuallers that ſail'd from *England*, with the *Echo*, are arrived here, one unloaded at *Louiſburgh*, having receiv'd damage in her paſſage out, and another I have heard nothing of. No ſhips of the enemy have come this way, that I have had any intelligence of, ſince my arrival in the river, except one, laden with flour and brandy, which Capt *Drake* of the *Lizard* took.

Before Adm. *Durell* got into the river, 3 frigates, and 17 ſail, with proviſions, ſtores, and a few recruits, got up, and are thoſe we are ſo anxious, if poſſible, to deſtroy.

Yeſterday I received a letter from Gen. *Amherſt* (to whom I have had no opportunity of writing ſince I have been in the river) dated, camp at *Crown Point*, *Aug.* 7. wherein he only deſires I would ſend tranſports and a convoy to *New York* to carry to *England* 607 priſoners taken at *Niagara*.

I ſhall very ſoon ſend home the great ſhips, and have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant,

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

Two

Two days after this excellent letter was received at court, and which put an end to all our hopes of compleating for this year the conqueſt of *Canada*; to the aſtoniſhment of the world and the inexpreſſible joy of the nation, another expreſs arrived with an account of a ſignal victory gained by us over the French in that quarter of the world, which was attended with the reduction of *Quebec*, and conſequently with the abſolute ruin of the French upon the American continent; the ſatisfaction with which the news inſpired us was damped by our being told General *Wolfe* fell in the action, having received 3 ſhots in different places, and left behind him a character both as a man, and an officer, that raiſes him to a level with the moſt renowned commanders. General *Monckton* was alſo ſhot through the lungs, but his wound was not mortal. We were happy in having the command devolve upon General George *Townſhend*, whoſe letter will here ſpeak better, than any language we ſhould attempt to uſe.

Letter from the Honourable General Monckton *to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary* Pitt, *dated Camp at Point* Levi, Sept. 15, 1759.

SIR,

I Have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that, on the 13th inſtant, his majeſty's troops gained a very ſignal victory over the *French*, a little above the town of *Quebec*. Gen. *Wolfe*, exerting himſelf on the right of our line, received a wound pretty early, of which he died ſoon after, and I had myſelf the great misfortune of receiving one in my right breaſt by a ball, that went through part of my lungs (and which has been cut out under the blade bone of my ſhoulder) juſt as the *French* were giving way, which obliged me to quit the field. I have therefore, Sir, deſired Gen. *Townſhend*, who now commands the troops before the town (and of which I am in hopes he will be ſoon in poſſeſſion) to acquaint you with the particulars of that day, and of the operations carrying on, *I have the honour to be, &c.*

ROB. MONCKTON.

P. S. His majeſty's troops behaved with the greateſt ſteadineſs and bravery.

As the ſurgeons tell me there is no danger in my wound, I am in hopes that I ſhall be ſoon able to join the army before the town.

Letter from the Honourable Brigadier General Townſhend *to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary* Pitt, *dated, Camp before* Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.

SIR,

I Have the honour to acquaint you with the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, on the 13th inſtant, in an action with the *French*, on the Heights to the weſtward of this town.

It being determined to carry the operations above the town, the poſts at Point *Levi*, and *l' Iſle d' Orleans* being ſecured, the general marched, with the remainder of the force, from Point *Levi* the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in tranſports, which had paſſed the town for that purpoſe. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a movement of the ſhips was made up, by Adm. *Holmes*, in order to amuſe the enemy now poſted along the north ſhore; but the tranſports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the general thought proper to cantoon half his troops on the South ſhore; where they were refreſhed, and reimbarked upon the 12th at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by Col. *Howe*, the regiments of *Bragg*, *Kennedy*, *Laſcelles*, and *Anſtruther*, with a detachment of Highlanders, and *American* grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers *Monckton* and *Murray*, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, and after ſome movement of the ſhips made by Adm. *Holmes*, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, and landed on the North ſhore, within a league of *Cape Diamond*, an hour before day-break: The rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the intended place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to ſcramble up a woody precipice, in order

to ſecure the landing the troops, by diſlodging a captain's poſt, which defended the ſmall intrenched path the troops were to aſcend. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and diſperſed the captain's poſt; by which means, the troops, with a very little loſs from a few *Canadians* and *Indians* in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, as they emptied, were ſent back for the ſecond embarkation, which I immediately made. Brig. *Murray*, who had been detached with *Anſtruther*'s battalion to attack the four gun battery upon the left, was recalled by the general, who now ſaw the *French* army croſſing the river *St Charles*. Gen. *Wolfe* thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the *Louiſbourgh* grenadiers; on the right of theſe again he afterwards brought *Otway*'s, to the left of the grenadiers were *Bragg*'s, *Kennedy*'s, *Laſcelles*'s, *Highlanders*, and *Anſtruther*'s; the right of this body was commanded by Brig. *Monckton*, and the left by Brig. *Murray*; his rear and left were protected by Col. *Howe*'s light infantry, who was returned from the four gun battery before mentioned, which was ſoon abandoned to him. Gen. *Montcalm* having collected the whole of his force from the *Beauport* ſide, and advancing, ſhewed his intention to flank our left, where I was immediately ordered with Gen. *Amherſt*'s battalion, which I formed *en Potence*. My numbers were ſoon after increaſed by the arrival of the two battalions of *Royal Americans*; and *Webb*'s was drawn up by the General, as a reſerve, in eight ſubdiviſions with large intervals. The enemy lined the buſhes in their front, with 1500 *Indians* and *Canadians*, and I dare ſay had placed moſt of their beſt markſmen there, who kept up a very galling, though irregular, fire upon our whole line, who bore it with the greateſt patience, and good order; reſerving their fire for the main body, now advancing. This fire of the enemy was however checked by our poſts in our front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was compoſed of half the troops of the colony, the battalions of *La Saare*, *Languedoc*, and the remainder of their *Canadians* and *Indians*. Their centre was a column, and formed by the battalions of *Bearn* and *Guienne*. Their left was compoſed of the remaining troops of the colony, and the battalion of *Royal Rouſſillon*. This was, as near as I can gueſs, their line of battle. They brought up two pieces of ſmall artillery againſt us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun; which being admirably well ſerved, galled their column exceedingly. My attention to the left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumſtance which paſſed in the center, much leſs to the right; but it is moſt certain that the enemy formed in good order, and that their attack was very briſk and animated on that ſide. Our troops reſerved their fire, till within forty yards, which was ſo well continued, that the enemy every where gave way. It was then our General fell at the head of *Bragg*'s, and the *Louiſbourgh* grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets: About the ſame time, Brig. Gen. *Monckton* received his wound at the head of *Laſcelles*'s. In the front of the oppoſite battalions fell alſo M. *Montcalm*; and his ſecond in command is ſince dead of his wounds on board our fleet. Part of the enemy made a ſecond faint attack. Part took to ſome thick copſe wood, and ſeemed to make a ſtand. It was at this moment that each corps ſeemed in a manner to exert itſelf, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, *Bragg*'s, and *Laſcelles*'s, preſſed on with their bayonets. Brig. *Murray* advancing with the troops under his command briſkly, compleated the route on this ſide; when the Highlanders, ſupported by *Anſtruther*'s, took to their broad ſwords, and drove part into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the river *St Charles*.

The action, on our left and rear, was not ſo ſevere. The houſes, into which the light infantry were thrown, were well defended, being ſupported by Col. *Howe*, who taking poſt with two companies behind a ſmall copſe, and frequently ſallying upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, againſt the front of which body I advanced platoons of *Amherſt*'s regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their firſt intention. Before this, one of the *Royal American* battalions had been detached to preſerve our communication with our boats, and the other being ſent to occupy the ground which Brig. *Murray*'s movement had left open, I remained with *Amherſt*'s to ſupport this diſpoſition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their Savages, which waited ſtill more towards our rear, oppoſite the poſts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

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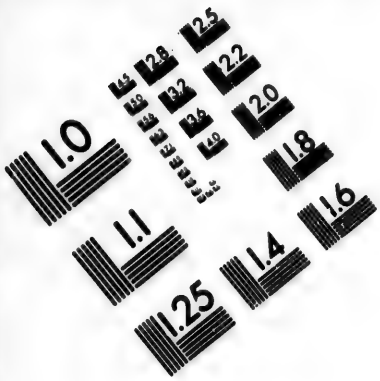
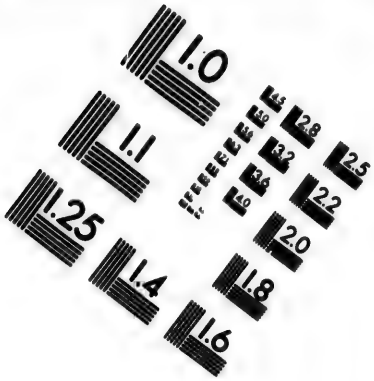
Articles





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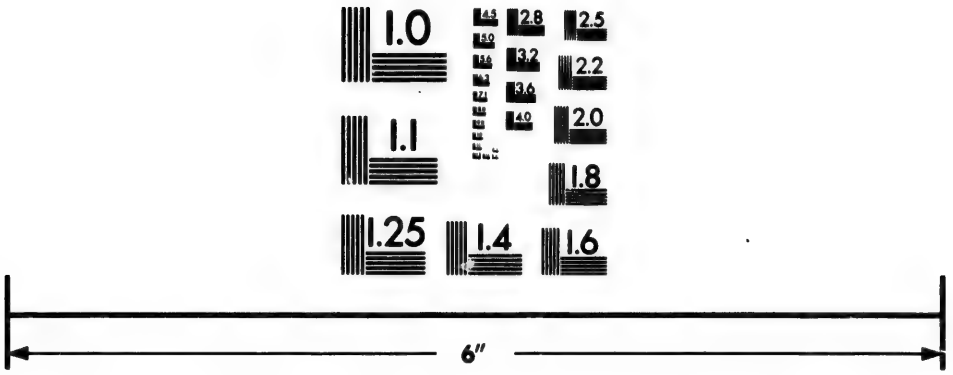

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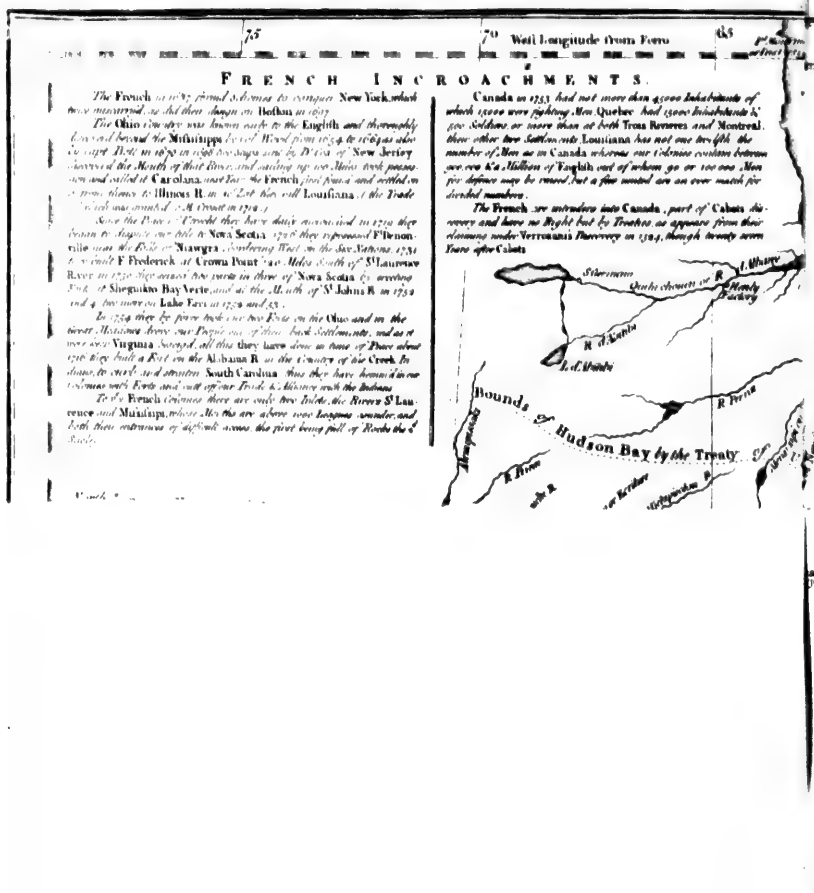


boats, and the other being left to occupy the ground which Brig. *Murray*'s movement had left open, I remained with *Amherst*'s to support this disposition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their Savages, which waited still more towards our rear, opposite the posts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

This,

This, Sir, was the ſituation of things, when I was told, in the action, that I commanded: I immediately repaired to the centre, and finding the purſuit had put part of the troops in diſorder, I formed them as ſoon as poſſible. Scarce was this effected, when M. *de Bougainville*, with his corps from *Cape Rouge*, of 2000 men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery, and two battalions towards him; upon which he retired. You will not, I flatter myſelf, blame me for not quitting ſuch advantageous ground, and riſking the fate of ſo deciſive a day, by ſeeking a freſh enemy, poſted perhaps in the very kind of ground he could wiſh for, *viz.* woods and ſwamps. We took a great number of *French* officers upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon. Their loſs is computed to be about 1500 men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars. I have been employed, from the day of action, to that of the capitulation, in redoubting our camp beyond inſult, in making a road up the precipice for our cannon, in getting up the artillery, preparing the batteries, and cutting off their communication with their country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any battery erected, or could have any for two or three days, a flag of truce came out with propoſals of capitulation, which I ſent back again to the town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no farther treaty. The admiral had, at this time, brought up his large ſhips as intending to attack the town. The *French* officer returned at night with terms of capitulation; which, with the Admiral, were conſidered, agreed to, and ſigned at eight in the morning, the 18th inſtant. The terms we granted, will, I flatter myſelf, be approved of by his majeſty, conſidering the enemy aſſembling in our rear, and, what is far more formidable, the very wet and cold ſeaſon, which threatened our troops with ſickneſs, and the fleet with ſome accident; it had made our road ſo bad, we could not bring up a gun for ſome time; add to this, the advantage of entering the town, with the walls in a defenſible ſtate, and the being able to put a garriſon there ſtrong enough to prevent all ſurprize. Theſe, I hope, will be deemed ſufficient conſiderations for granting them the terms I have the honour to tranſmit to you. The inhabitants of the country come into us faſt, bringing in their arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a general peace determines their ſituation.

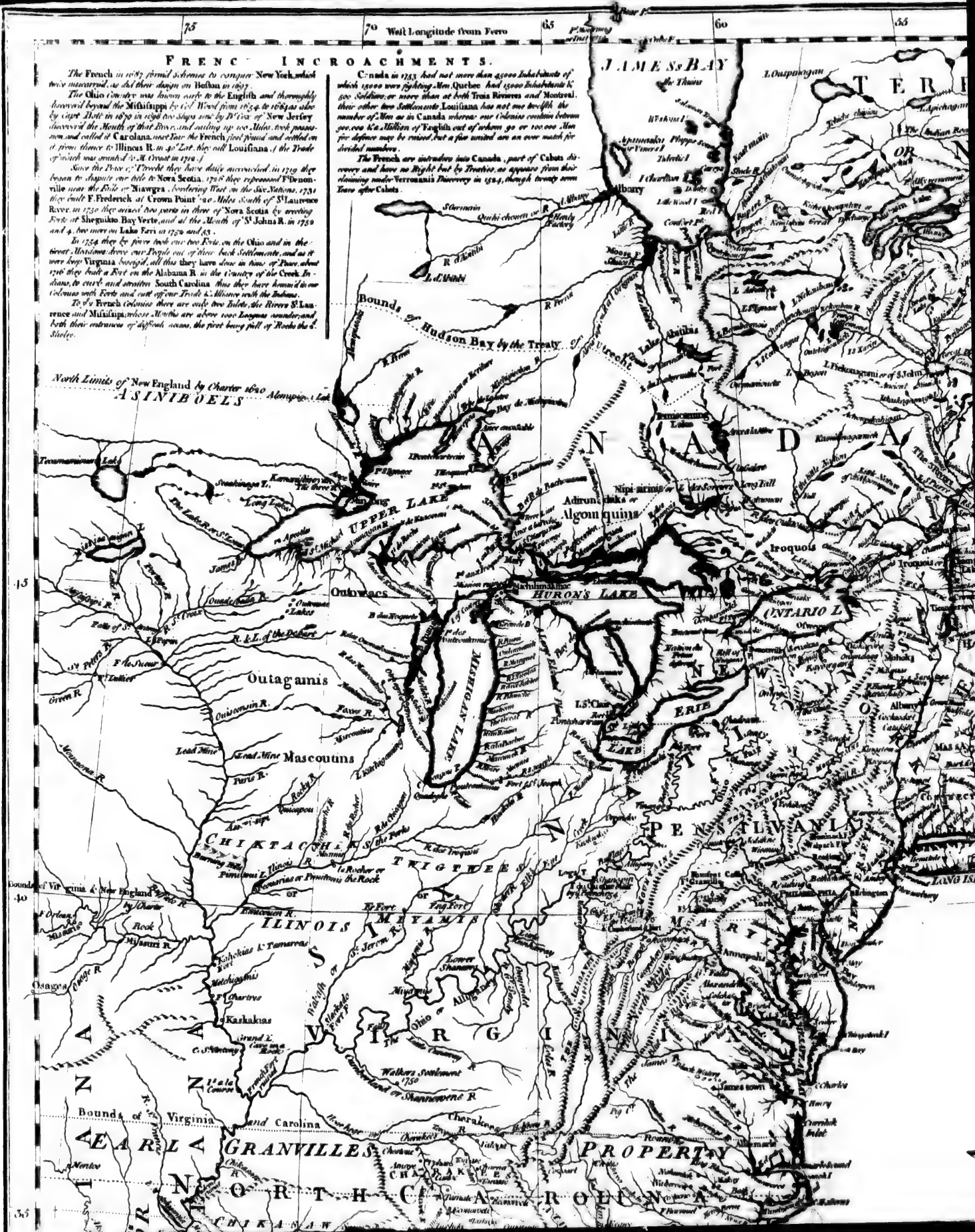
I have the honour to incloſe herewith, a liſt of the killed and wounded; a liſt of the priſoners, as perfect as I have yet been able to get it; and a liſt of the artillery and ſtores in the town, as well as of thoſe fallen into our hands at *Beauport* in conſequence of the victory. By deſerters we learn, that the enemy are re-aſſembling what troops they can, behind the Cape *Rouge*; that M. *de Levy* is come down from the *Montreal* ſide to command them; ſome ſay he has brought two battalions with him; if ſo, this blow has already aſſiſted Gen. *Amherſt*. By other deſerters, we learn, that M. *de Bougainvelle*, with 800 men, and proviſions, was on his march to fling himſelf into the town the 18th, the very morning it capitulated, on which day we had not completed the inveſtiture of the place, as they had broke their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very ſtrong works on the other ſide the river *St Charles*.

I ſhould not do juſtice to the Admirals, and the naval ſervice, if I neglected this occaſion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our ſucceſs to the conſtant aſſiſtance and ſupport received from them, and the perfect harmony and correſpondence, which has prevailed throughout all our operations, in the uncommon difficulties, which the nature of this country, in particular, preſents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army can itſelf ſolely ſupply; the immenſe labour in artillery, ſtores, and proviſions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by the ſeamen, even in the heat of the action; it is my duty, ſhort as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that, how great a ſhare the navy has had in this ſucceſsful campaign.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

Articles


FRENC INCROACHMENTS.
The French in 1687 formd schemes to conquer New York which twice miscarrid as did their design on Boston in 1697.
The Ohio Country was known early to the English and thoroughly discoverd beyond the Mississippi by Col Wood from 1654 to 1665 as also by Capt Batt in 1670 in 1690 two Ships sent by D'Ivic of New Jersey discoverd the Mouth of that River, and sailing up 100 Miles took possession and called it Carolana, next Year the French first found and settled on it from thence to Illinois R. in 40° Lat. they call Louisiana, (the Trade of which was granted to M. Crozat in 1712.)
Since the Peace of Utrecht they have daily encroached, in 1719 they began to dispute our title to Nova Scotia, 1726 they represented P'Denonville near the Falls of Niawgra, bombarding West on the Six Nations, 1731 they built F. Frederick at Crown Point 120 Miles South of St Laurence River, in 1732 they seized two parts in three of Nova Scotia by erecting Forts at Shegnikto Bay Verte, and at the Mouth of St Johns R. in 1750 and 4, two more on Lake Erie in 1750 and 53.
In 1754 they by force took our two Forts on the Ohio and in the great Meadows drove our People out of their back Settlements, and as it were keep Virginia bound, all this they have done in time of Peace, about 1716 they built a Fort on the Alabama R. in the Country of the Creek Indians, to curb and straiten South Carolina thus they have drawn'd in our Colonies with Forts and cutt off our Trade & Alliance with the Indians.
To the French Colonies there are only two Inlets, the Rivers St Laurence and Mississipi, whose Mouths are above 1000 Leagues asunder, and both their entrances of difficult access, the first being full of Rocks the 2d Sholes.
Canada in 1753 had not more than 45000 Inhabitants of which 15000 were fighting Men Quebec had 15000 Inhabitants & 500 Soldiers, or more than at both Trois Rivieres and Montreal, their other two Settlements Louisiana has not one twelfth the number of Men as in Canada whereas our Colonies contain between 900,000 & a Million of English out of whom 90 or 100,000 Men for defence may be raised, but a few united are an over match for divided numbers.
The French are intruders into Canada, part of Cabots discovery and have no Right but by Treaties, as appears from their claiming under Verrazanis Discovery in 1524, though twenty seven Years after Cabots.
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Outwacs
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Walkers Settlement 1750
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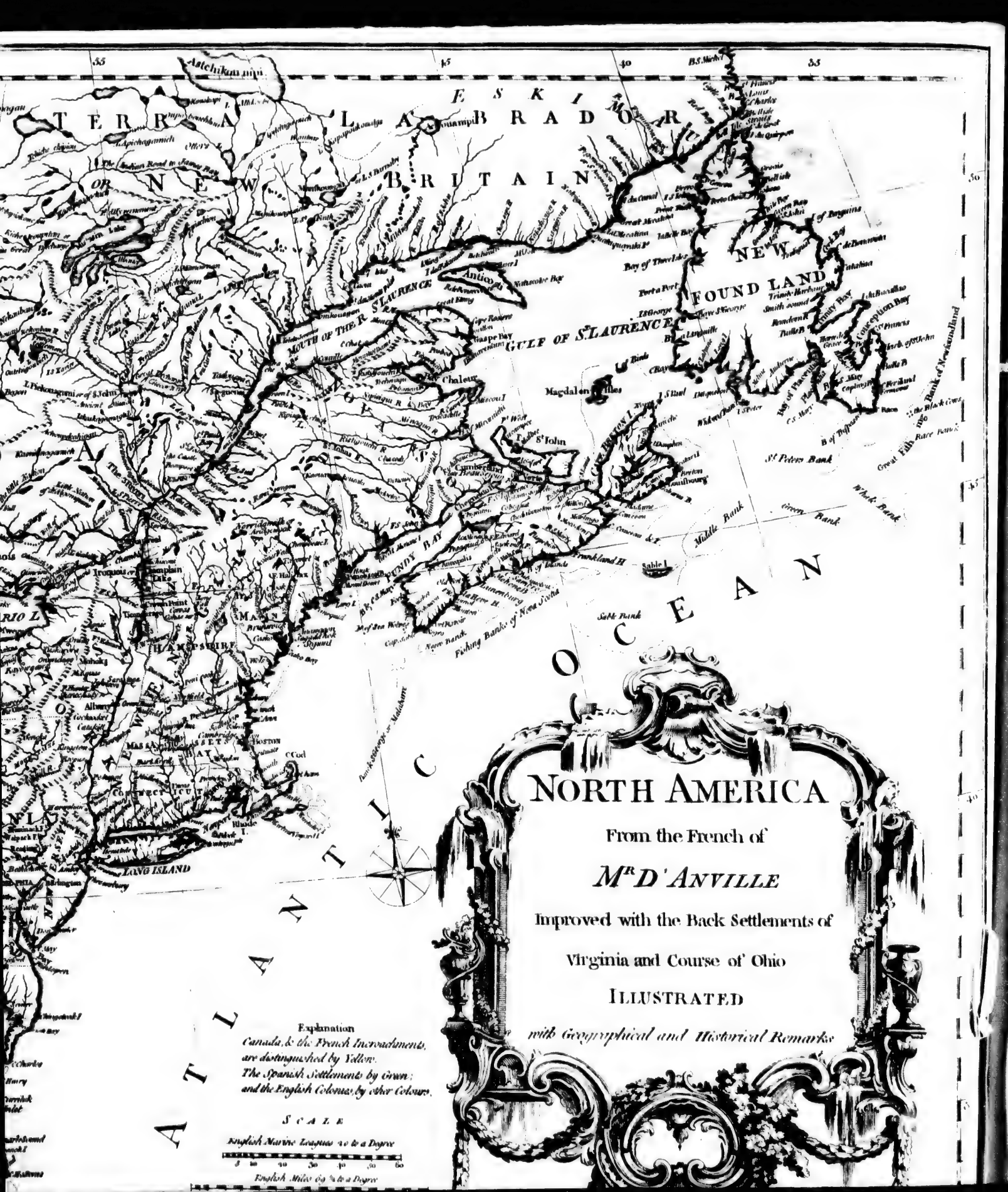
NORTH AMERICA
From the French of
MR D'ANVILLE
Improved with the Back Settlements of
Virginia and Course of Ohio
ILLUSTRATED
with Geographical and Historical Remarks
Explanation
Canada, & the French Incroachments, are distinguished by Yellow. The Spanish Settlements by Green; and the English Colonies, by other Colours.
SCALE
English Marine Leagues 20 to a Degree
English Miles 69 ½ to a Degree
TERRA DE LABRADOR
NEW BRITAIN
NEW FOUND LAND
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
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MOUTH OF THE R. ST LAURENCE
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MASSACHUSETS BAY
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Magdalen Isles
St John
Cumberland
Louisbourg
Sable I.
St Peters Bank
Great Fish Bank
Middle Bank
Green Bank
White Bank
Sable Bank
Fishing Banks of Nova Scotia
Boston
Albany
Iroquois
Lake Champlain
Penobscot
Kennebec
Androscoggin
Connecticut R.
Rhode I.
Cape Cod
Trinity Harbour
Conception Bay
Bonavista
Placentia
Cape Race
Cape Ray
Cape Breton I.
Prince Edwards I.
Anticosti
Bay of Chaleurs
Gaspe Bay
Bay of Fundy
Bay of Trinity
Bay of Bulls
Port a Port
Port aux Basques
Bay of Despair
Bay of Exploits
Bay of Bonavista
Bay of Placentia
Bay of Conception
Bay of Trinity
Bay of Fortune
Bay of Gaspe
Bay of Miramichi
Bay of Passamaquoddy
Bay of Verte
Bay of Chaleurs
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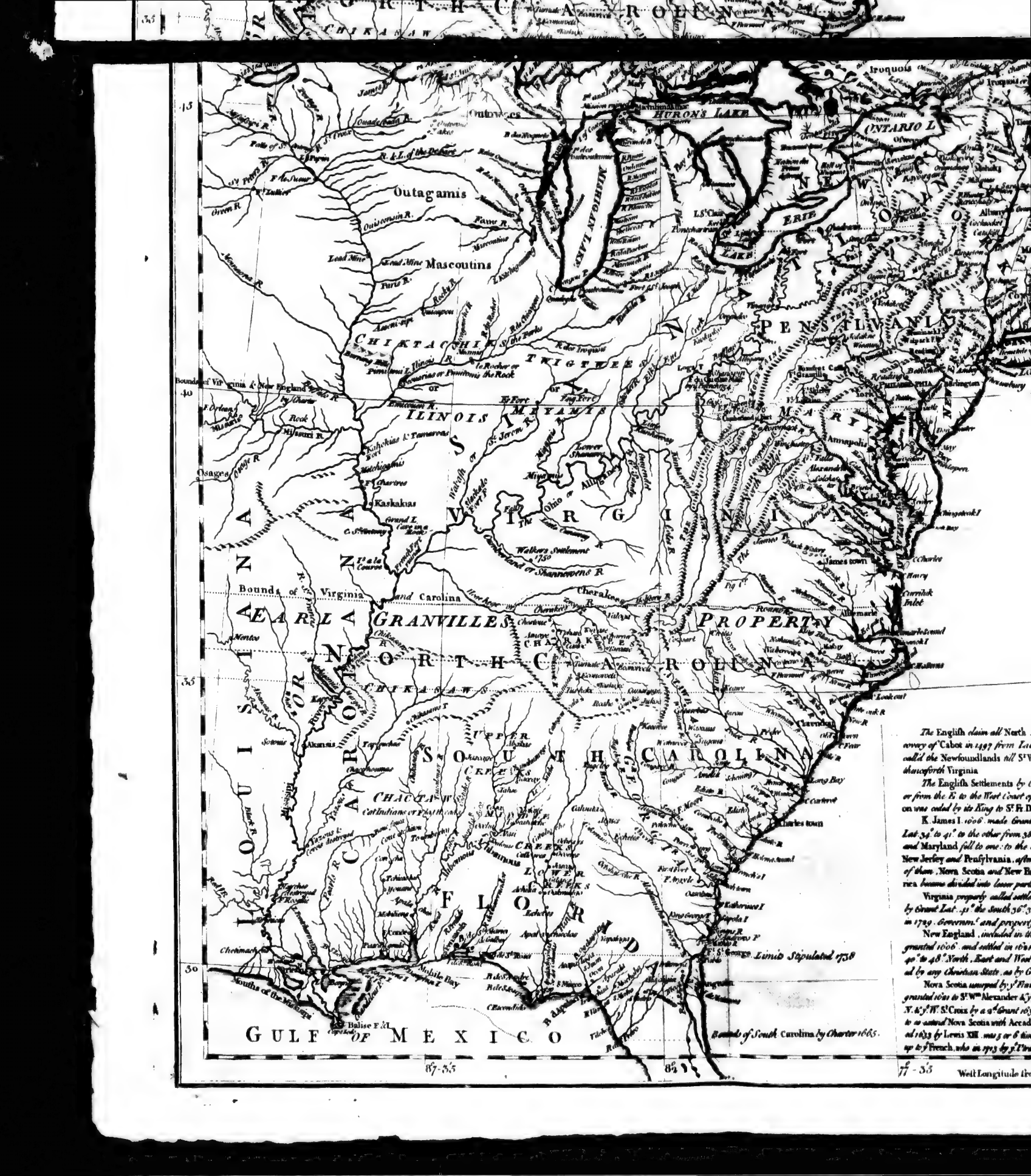
Bay of Verte


Outagamis
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Walkers Settlement 1750
Cumberland or Shannoons R
Bounds of Virginia and Carolina
EARL GRANVILLES PROPERTY
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
CHACTAS
Cat Indians or Flat heads
LOWER CREEKS
UPPER CREEKS
FLORIDA
Limits Stipulated 1758
Bounds of South Carolina by Charter 1665
GULF OF MEXICO
Mobile Bay
Balise Fort
Mouths of the Missisipi
Charles town
James town
Annapolis
Albemarle
Roanoke R
Cherake
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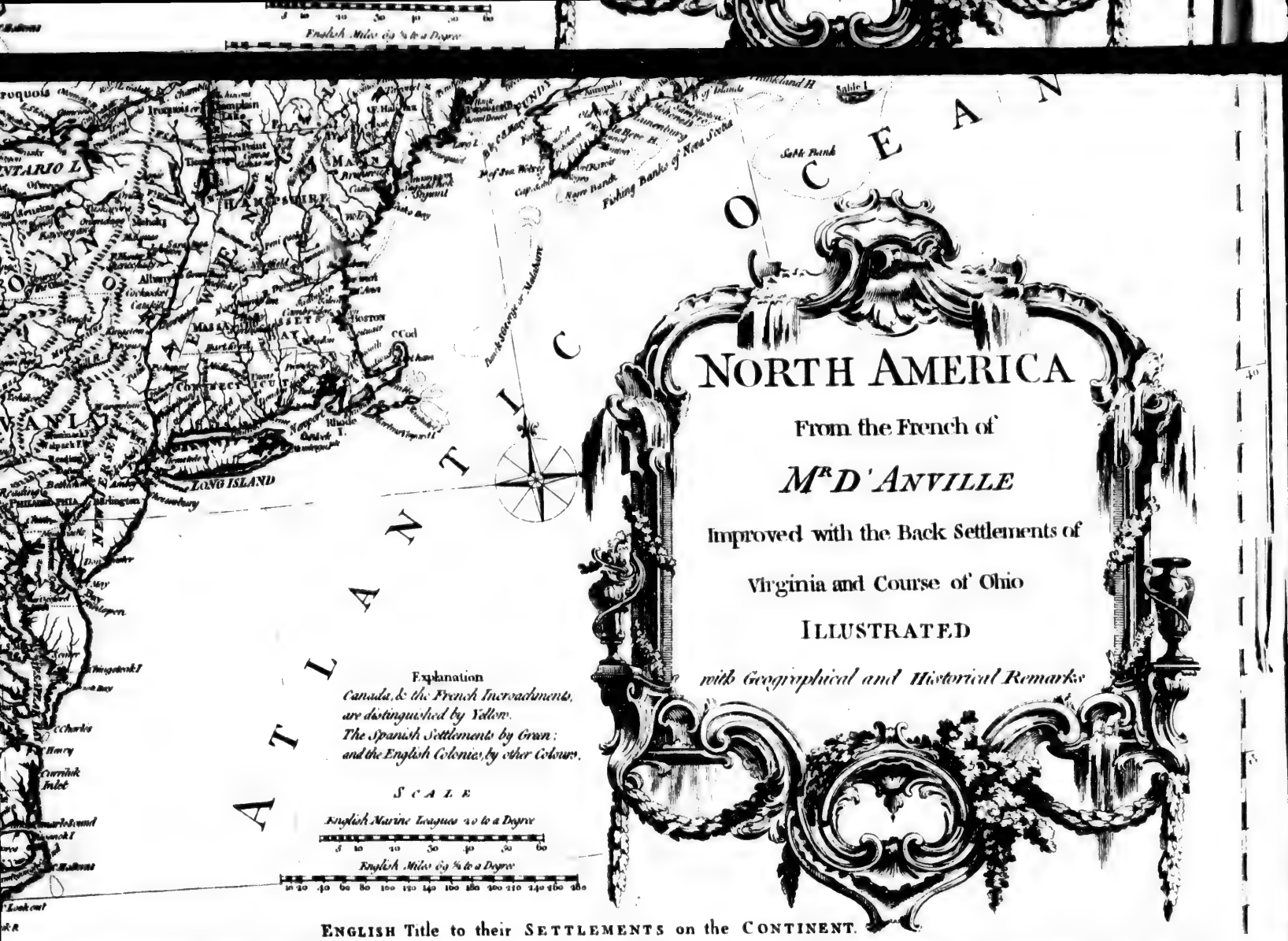

ENGLISH Title to their SETTLEMENTS on the CONTINENT.

The English *claim all* North America *to settle in, by y^e Discovery of* Cabot *in 1497 from Lat. 67°* to Cape of Florida *in 25. call'd the* Newfoundlands *till* S^r Walter Raleighs *Voyage in 1583: thenceforth* Virginia.

The English Settlements *by Grants extend from Sea to Sea or from the E. to the West Coast of the Continent where* New Albion *was ceded by its King to* S^r Fr. Drake *in 1577.*

K. James I. *1606. made Grants to two Companies to one from Lat. 34° to 41° to the other from 38° to 45°.* Carolina, Virginia *Propr. and* Maryland, *fell to one: to the other* New England, New York, New Jersey *and* Pensylvania, *afterwards distinct Grants being made of them,* Nova Scotia *and* New Britain; Virginia *or all* North America *became divided into lesser parts under different names.*

Virginia, *properly called settled in* James R. *1607. N^ly bounds by Grant Lat. 41° the South 36° 30', by agreement and was run in 1749. Governm^t and property in the Crown.*

New England, *included in the General* Virginia *Patent, was granted 1606. and settled in 1620. the bounds extend from Lat. 40° to 48° North, East and West from Sea to Sea, if not possessed by any Christian State, as by Grant of* James I. *3^d Nov. 1620.*

Nova Scotia *usurped by y^e French 1613. forced out by* Argal *1613. granted 1621 to* S^r W^m Alexander *&y^r bounds was* S^t Lawrence R. *on y^e N. & y^e W.* S^t Croix *by a 2^d Grant 1635 it was enlarged to* Kennebeki R. *to w^ch extend* Nova Scotia *with* Accadia *(so called by y^e French) as granted 1632 by* Lewis XIII. *was 5 or 6 times conquer'd by y^e* English *& given up to y^e* French, *who in 1713 by* S^t Vtrecht *Treaty ceded it entirely to* Q. Anne *excepting* Cape Britan. *Property & Government in y^e Crown.*

Maryland, *before part of* Virginia, *granted to* Lord Baltimore *20 Jun. 1632 by* K. Charles I. *who named it after his Queen, settled in 1633. extends N. to Lat. 40° S. a few Miles below 38° East by the Ocean & extends W. to y^e Head of y^e* Potomack R. *Property & Governm^t in y^e Proprietor.*

Carolina N^th & S^th *were one Country till 1729.* French *Huguenots intruding in 1562 built* Charles F. *at* Port Royal. *cutt off 1563 by the* Spaniards, *who were destroyed by the* French *1607. from thence unsettled except in 1629 & 33 by a few* English. *till granted to 8 Proprietors 1665 from Lat. 36° 30' to y^e 29^th Degree, and West to the South Sea, the Charter was vacated 1728 & 7 of the Shares bought in by y^e Crown, in whose hands y^e Governm^t Property is y^e People.*

New Jersey *lies between* Maryland, Pensylvania, *and* New York, *part of y^e Dutch* New Netherlands *taken from them in 1664. & granted to y^e* Duke *of* York *and by him to* Lord Berkley *and* S^r Geo Carteret *renewed by the Dutch in 1674 but restored 1673. and regranted to and by the Duke 1674 to the same Proprietors, who divided it by a Line from South to North,* Lord Berkeley *had the W. Jersey, and* S^r Geo Carteret *the East Jersey now united. Property in the Proprietors, Government and Jurisdiction given up to the Crown 1702.*

New York *first visited by* Hudson *1608. who gave his name to the R. bought the Country of the Indians and sold it to the* Dutch. Cha I. *claiming it the States thereon a title, and the Dutch Company offer'd it for 250^l. but they retract, build Forts and call it with* New Jersey, New Netherlands, *it was conquer'd with N. Jersey and granted to the D. of* York, *and called* Yorkshire *its bounds at first were North the R.* S^t Laurence, *and the S. Sea West now more limited and very narrow towards y^e Sea Coast, exclusive of* Long Island; *but grows broader towards the Country of the Six Nations, which is supposed to be comprised in it. Property & Government in the Crown.*

Pensylvania, *named from its Proprietor* W^m Penn Esq^r *granted by* K. Cha II. *1680 from the beginning of the 40° to the 43^d of Latitude, & on Longitude 5 Deg. W. of* Delaware R. *excepting 12 Miles round* Newcastle, *in 1682 the* Duke *of* York *granted to him a slip of* New Netherlands *from 12 Miles N. of* Newcastle, *S. to* Cape Henlopen *in 38° 45' w^ch part is called the* Delaware *or* Lower Countries *Property & Government in the Proprietors.*

Georgia *till 1732 was part of* S^th Carolina *it was settled separated, & granted to a Corporation, with right for 21 Years. Property and Government which last was then to revert to the Crown.*

Five Nations *called* Iroquois *by the* French *are the* Mohawks, Oneout *or* Onidos Onondawgaws Kayowgaws *and* Senekas. *the* Tuskarorah *make a Sixth their Country extends from* Skenektadi *16 m. N.W. of* Albany *to the* Niawgra Streight *of Lake* Erri *320 Miles.*

They are acknowledg'd by the Utrecht *Treaty to be Subjects of* Great Britain, *which claims to settle all the Country West to the* Missisipi, *and South to the* Cherakee R. *with the Country of the* Messasagues, *and Northern* Iroquois *living beyond the Lakes* Hurons *and* Ontario *and* S^t Laurence R. *as far East as* Montreal *in right of their Conquests, and all the Country North to the same River, and East beyond* Iroquoise Lake *and River as their Antient Territories, besides the Lands of their Friends, whom the French* agreed not to molest, *they can raise 1500 fighting Men and are Allies of the* English, *who call them Brethren, and under the Protection of* New York.

77° - 35' West Longitude from London 74° - 35' 67° - 35' 65½ - 35'

May 1755 Published according to Act by Tho^s Jefferys Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales near Charing

Articles of Capitulation agreed on, between General Townſhend *and M.* de Ramzey, *Commander of* Quebec.

Art. I. M. *de Ramzey* demands the honours of war for his garriſon, and that it ſhall be conducted back to the army in ſafety by the ſhorteſt road, with their arms, baggage, ſix pieces of braſs cannon, two mortars or howitzers,, and 12 rounds.

The garriſon of the town, compoſed of land forces, marines, and ſailors, ſhall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and ſhall be embarked as conveniently as poſſible, in order to be landed at the firſt port in France.

II. That the inhabitants ſhall be maintained in the poſſeſſion of their houſes, goods, effects, and privileges.

Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

III. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be moleſted on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is cuſtomary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to ſerve as militia. *Granted.*

IV. That the effects belonging to the abſent officers, or inhabitants, ſhall not be touched. *Granted,*

V. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be removed nor obliged to quit their houſes until their condition ſhall be ſettled by a definitive treaty between their moſt Chriſtian and *Britannick* majeſties. *Granted.*

VI. That the exerciſe of the Catholic Apoſtolic and Roman religion ſhall be preſerved, and that ſafe-guards ſhall be granted to the houſes of the clergy, and to the monaſteries, particularly to the Biſhop of *Quebec*, who animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his dioceſs, deſires to reſide conſtantly in it, to exerciſe freely and with that decency which his character and the ſacred myſteries of the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion require, his epiſcopal authority in the town of *Quebec*, wherever he ſhall think it proper, until the poſſeſſion of *Canada* ſhall have been decided by a treaty between their moſt Chriſtian and *Britannic* majeſties.

The free exerciſe of the Roman religion, Safe-guards granted to all religious perſons, as well as to the biſhop, who ſhall be at liberty to come and exerciſe freely and with decency the functions of his office whenever he ſhall think proper, until the poſſeſſion of Canada *ſhall have been decided between their* Britannic *and moſt Chriſtian majeſties.*

VII. That the artillery and warlike ſtores ſhall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof. *Granted.*

VIII. That the ſick, wounded, commiſſaries, chaplains, phyſicians, ſurgeons, apothecaries, and other perſons employed in the hoſpitals, ſhall be treated agreeable to the cartel ſettled between their moſt Chriſtian and *Britannic* majeſties on *Feb.* 6, 1759. *Granted.*

IX. That before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the *Engliſh* forces, their general will be pleaſed to ſend ſome ſoldiers to be placed as ſafe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations. *Granted.*

X. That the commander of the city of *Quebec* ſhall be permitted to ſend advice to the Marquis *de Vaudrueil*, governor general, of the reduction of the town; as alſo that this general ſhall be allowed to write to the *French* miniſtry to inform them thereof. *Granted.*

XI. That the preſent capitulation ſhall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of repriſals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation. *Granted.*

The preſent treaty has been made and ſettled between us, and duplicates ſign'd at the Camp before Quebec, Sept. 18, 1759.

C. Saunders, G. Townſhend, De Ramſay.

Killed,

Killed, Wounded, and Miſſing, in the Battle of the 13th.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	*Miſſing.*
Officers	9	53	0
Serjeants	3	25	0
Drummers	0	4	0
Rank and file	45	506	3
Total	57	588	3

Artillery.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	*Miſſing.*
Engineers	0	1	0
Gunners	1	1	0
Bombardiers	0	1	0
Matroſſes	0	5	0
Total	1	8	0

An Account of the Guns, &c. found in Quebec *on its Surrender to his Majeſty's Troops.*

Braſs guns	6 pound.	1	Braſs mortars	13 In.	1
	4	3	Do howitzers	8	3
	2	2	Iron mortars	13	9
Iron guns	36	10		10	1
	24	45		8	3
	18	18		7	2
	12	13	Shells	13 Inches	770
	8	43		10	150
	6	66		8 and 6	90
	4	30			
	3	7	Braſs petards		2
	2	3			

with a conſiderable quantity of powder, ball, ſmall arms and intrenching tools, &c. the number of which cannot be aſcertained.

There have been alſo 37 guns and one mortar found on ſeveral batteries between *St Charles* river and *Beauport*.

Letter from Vice-Admiral Saunders, *to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary* Pitt, Sept. 20, 1759.

SIR,

I Have the greateſt pleaſure in acquainting you, that the town and citadel of *Quebec* ſurrendered on the 18th inſtant, and I incloſe you a copy of the articles of capitulation. The army took poſſeſſion of the gates on the land ſide, the ſame evening, and ſent ſafe guards into the town to preſerve order, and to prevent any thing being deſtroyed; and Capt. *Palliſer*, with a body of ſeamen, landed in the lower town, and did the ſame. The next day, our army marched in, and near a thouſand *French* officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, were embarked on board ſome *Engliſh* catts, who ſhall ſoon proceed for *France*, agreeable to the capitulation.

I had the honour to write to you the 5th inſtant, by the *Rodney* cutter: The troops mentioned in that letter, embarked on board the ſhips and veſſels above the town, in the night of the 6th inſtant, and at four in the morning of the 13th began to land on the north ſhore, about a mile and a half above the town. Gen. *Montcalm*, with his whole army, left their camps at *Beauport*, and marched to meet him. A little before ten both armies were formed, and the enemy began the attack. Our troops received their fire, and reſerved their own, advancing till they were ſo near as to run

in upon them, and puſh them with their bayonets; by which, in a very little time, the *French* gave way, and fled to the town in the utmoſt diſorder, and with great loſs; for our troops purſued them quite to the walls, and killed many of them upon the glacis, and in the ditch; and if the town had been further off, the whole *French* army muſt have been deſtroyed. About 250 *French* priſoners were taken that day, among whom are ten captains, and ſix ſubaltern officers, all of whom will go in the great ſhips to *England*.

I am ſorry to acquaint you, that General *Wolfe* was killed in the action; and Gen. *Monckton* ſhot through the body; but he is now ſuppoſed to be out of danger. Gen. *Montcalm*, and the three next *French* officers in command, were killed; but I muſt refer you to Gen. *Townſhend* (who writes by this opportunity) for the particulars of this action, the ſtate of the garriſon, and the meaſures he is taking for keeping poſſeſſion of it. I am now beginning to ſend on ſhore the ſtores they will want, and proviſions for 5000 men; of which I can furniſh them with a ſufficient quantity.

The night of their landing, Admiral *Holmes*, with the ſhips and troops, was about three leagues above the intended landing-place: General *Wolfe*, with about half his troops, ſet off in boats, and dropped down with the tide, and were, by that means, leſs liable to be diſcovered by the *French* centinels, poſted all along the coaſt. The ſhips followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing-place juſt in the time that had been concerted, to cover their landing; and conſidering the darkneſs of the night, and the rapidity of the currant, this was a very critical operation, and very properly and ſucceſsfully conducted. When Gen. *Wolfe*, and the troops with him, had landed, the difficulty of gaining the top of the hill is ſcarce credible: It was very ſteep in its aſſent, and high, and had no path where two could go a-breaſt: but they were obliged to pull themſelves up by the ſtumps and boughs of trees, that covered the declivity.

Immediately after our victory over their troops, I ſent up all the boats in the fleet with artillery, and ammunition; and on the 17th went up with the men of war, in a diſpoſition to attack the lower town, as ſoon as Gen. *Townſhend* ſhould be ready to attack the upper; but in the evening they ſent out to the camp, and offered terms of capitulation.

I have the farther pleaſure of acquainting you, that, during this tedious campaign, there has continued a perfect good underſtanding between the army and navy. I have received great aſſiſtance from Admirals *Durell* and *Holmes*, and from all the captains; indeed every body has exerted themſelves in the execution of their duty; even the tranſports have willingly aſſiſted me with boats and people on the landing the troops, and many other ſervices. *I have the honour to be, &c.*

CHARLES SAUNDERS

It appears all through this expedition, that great part of its ſucceſs was owing to the patriot unanimity that ſubſiſted between the land and ſea officers. None of thoſe bickerings and diſputes reigned among them that had been the ruin of many well concerted ſchemes in a former WAR, and if there was any contention it was in who ſhould be foremoſt to ſhew his love for his country's glory, by being foremoſt in his duty. Admiral *Saunders* who commanded at ſea, was always ready to aſſiſt the operations by land, and he was nobly ſeconded, by the Admirals *Holmes* and *Durell*. The death of the brave General *Wolfe*, abated nothing of this confidence, and indeed ſuch was the tenor of all the officers conduct through the whole, that the wiſdom and valour of the britiſh councils and arms, by their intrepidity and courage have been eſtabliſhed in the capital of *New France*.

A DESCRIPTION

A DESCRIPTION of the further progreſs of the *Britiſh* arms ſhall now be entered upon. After *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*, had thus fallen under the *Engliſh* monarchy, in the glorious æra, 1759. An event ſufficiently ſurprizing, in whatever circumſtance we regard it; the great ſuperiority of the *French* over our troops, as to numbers, the many difficulties the latter had to encounter even to come to blows with the enemy, occaſioned by the inequality and commanding ſtrength of the country about the town, which was occupied by forces much more numerous, highly enhance the merit of this atchievement: but what ſtill more claims our wonder and applauſe is, that ſo ſmall a body ſhould perſiſt, without relaxation or confuſion, after the fall of its gallant leader *Wolfe*; who had braved every danger at their head, and when general *Monkton*, that ſucceeded to the command, had in appearance ſhared the ſame fate, not only to oppoſe this formidable foe, but to repel, rout, and purſue the ſcattered remains, even up to their city; which, ſtruck with deſpair at the ſight, ſurrendered to them in four days after. Hiſtory can boaſt but of few actions parallel to this; and indeed, providence ſeems to have more eſpecially employed its agency to inſpirit the *Engliſh*, and confound the *French*, in the above mentioned exploit.

Being thus maſter of the town, the next thing the conquerors had to conſider was, how they ſhould beſt ſecure this important acquiſition againſt any ſudden attack, or ſurprize; this loudly demanded the moſt ſerious exertion of their care and management, as the enemy had ſtill a much larger force in the field, than theirs amounted to within the walls, far leſs fatigued, and in better health: added to theſe advantages over them, they had alſo a thorough knowledge of the country, and a conſtant ſupply of freſh proviſions in abundance, from the lands to the ſouthward, which were hitherto under their dominion. *Quebec*, that was to be the winter quarters of our people, lay moſtly in ruins, and thoſe houſes which remained ſtanding, were ſo ſhattered by the batteries as to be ſcarcely habitable; the fortifications in a ruinous condition, and in ſhort nothing before them but a proſpect of the extremity of hardſhips and toil. Theſe difficulties were however in ſome meaſure ſurmounted by the unwearied reſolution and perſeverance of the ſoldiery, and the place put into a poſture of defence, the moſt promiſing affairs would admit of. By ſeizing two poſts one at *St. Foix*, and the other at *Lorette*, the garriſon made ſhift to furniſh itſelf with wood for fuel, of which there was great want; and afterwards a detachment marched to *St. Auguſtin*, made the enemies advanced guards priſoners, and diſarmed the inhabitants. Theſe ſucceſſes were ſtrokes of great moment to the *Engliſh* army, as they afforded them opportunity of watching the motions of the *French*, covering at the ſame time their own, and likewiſe obliged the peaſants to furniſh them with freſh ſubſiſtence during the winter. Things now ſhewing a more agreeable aſpect, and terror being baniſhed a little farther from home, a party was ſent out to the ſouthward of the river *St. Laurence*, that ſtript the inhabitants of their weapons, and obliged them to take oaths of allegiance; which ſtep was likewiſe the means of procuring them great quantities of freſh proviſions. The *French* generals who had cantoned their army in winter quarters about the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, having received intelligence, that our army daily diminiſhed through ſickneſs and inevitable diſtreſſes, came to a reſolution of attacking the town in the depth of winter, hoping to carry it by a ſudden effort of their whole force. For this end they made a great preparation of ſnow ſhoes, and ſcaling ladders for ſtorming the place, which they had agreed, ſhould be put in execution about the middle of *February* following; till that time all poſſible precaution was to be uſed in order to conceal their deſign, which nevertheleſs did not prevent our army's being apprized of it.

The more readily to compaſs their intentions, the enemy diſpatched a body of forces to poſt themſelves at point *Levy*, to augment their army by collecting together the ſouthern inhabitants; and to form there a magazine of proviſions for the troops who were to follow. This point they had now been in poſſeſſion of for ſeveral days, which time they employed in amaſſing a large quantity of flour, and in killing cattle for the ſuſtenance of their forces during the projected expedition: they were however diſturbed in this work by our people, as ſoon as the river was ſufficiently frozen to let them croſs it, and driven off in ſo percipitate a manner, that hardly any thing, except their own perſons eſcaped the hands of the *Engliſh*. The enemy afterwards attempted to regain the ſame ſituation with a greater body, but were ſtill baffled, and obliged only to the nimbleneſs of their flight for ſafety. Deſpairing therefore of being

being able to carry their deſign into execution, of taking the place by a ſudden onſet, they reſolved to make all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a regular ſiege, to be commenced as ſoon as ever the breaking of the froſt had rendered the river *St. Laurence* navigable. The Chevalier *de Levis*, who commanded the whole, near 15000 men, of whom about 7000 were *Canadians* of *Montreal*, 1200 *Savages*, and the remainder regulars, had formed them into twelve battalions; the *Engliſh* garriſon, which at firſt conſiſted of about 7000 men, was now greatly reduced by death and ſickneſs, inſomuch that the whole number fit for action amounted to little more than 3000. Now as *Quebec* was very far from being in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege, General *Murray*, to whom, upon the departure of General *Townſend*, the command devolved, reſolved, with his little army, to ſeize the heights of *Abraham*, which overlook the town at the diſtance of 800 yards, and intrench himſelf ſtrongly there: but before he could compaſs this ſcheme, the froſt broke, the enemy's ſhips fell down the river, and landed their army at *Point au Tremble*, whence they marched directly to *Lorette* in order to ſurprize and cut off the advanced poſts planted in thoſe parts. But to their utter diſappointment, theſe were all properly ſuccoured and withdrawn with very little loſs. Affairs being thus circumſtanced, and the enemy at hand, there was no other choice left, but either for the *Engliſh* to ſhut themſelves up within the walls, and reſiſt the foe from thence, or with very inferior numbers to meet them in the field, and try the fate of valour oppoſed to multitude; General *Murray* reſolved upon the latter, as conſidering his troops habituated to conquer; and that if he ſhould not ſucceed in this, he could ſtill have recourſe to the former. He marched therefore with all that could be muſtered, and drew up upon the heights in order of battle. During this interval, he took a view of the enemy who were upon the march, in a column, and thinking it now the proper juncture to attack with the greateſt advantage, before they had formed; he preſſed briſkly upon them, and after ſome diſpute, puſhed them from the riſing grounds they were in poſſeſſion of. The van of the *French* being thus put to flight, their main body advanced a pace, and their wings began to form with that a ſemicircle upon the flanks of the *Engliſh*, which was now in danger of being ſurrounded by their whole force, and having their communication with the town cut off. To prevent therefore a calamity, that might have ruined not only the army, but all the advantages acquired in *Canada*, they were compelled to retreat, and retired back to the town in ſuch good order, that the enemy ventured to purſue but ſlowly. The roughneſs of the ground, and wreaths of ſnow, rendered it impracticable to bring off their cannon, which fell moſtly into the enemies hand. The loſs of the *Engliſh* in this action amounted to about 1000, that of the *French* to 2500 men. The night following the battle, the beſiegers opened their trenches againſt the town, and the garriſon ſet as heartily about fortifying it within, to enable them to hold out as long as poſſible; they had with vaſt labour mounted 132 pieces of cannon on the ramparts, and made ſo vigorous a defence from them, that the fire of the enemy daily leſſened. Notwithſtanding theſe efforts, it is imagined the place muſt have yielded, had the *French* been powerfully ſeconded by a fleet; but inſtead of ſuch an appearance, Lord *Colville* (who had received advice of what was doing) arrived in the river; and on the 15th of *May* 1760, having anchored before the town, diſpatched immediately two frigates to attack the *French* ſquadron, all of which preſently run aſhore and were deſtroyed; this tranſaction threw the beſiegers into the greateſt panic; ſo that they inſtantly raiſed the ſiege with ſuch precipitation, as to abandon all their cannon, mortars, baggage, ſtores, ammunition, and proviſion, and retreated to *Jaques Cartier*. Thus ended alſo, glorioufly to the *Engliſh*, the ſecond ſiege of *Quebec*.

The *French* having been now every where routed in *North America*, their ſtrongeſt forts, and the capital of *Canada* taken, there remained to them no place of conſequence in theſe regions as yet unconquered, excepting *Montreal*; the reduction of which would render the ſubjection of this country to the *Britiſh* crown complete. To haſten its fall, General *Amherſt* was making large ſtrides. During the interval between the ſurrendry of *Louiſbourg* and the time we are now treating of, he had been employed in attacking their ſeveral ſtrong holds upon the *Lakes*, which had all yielded to his arms ſucceſſively, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the *French* to preſerve them. It had been concerted between him and General *Murray*, that as ſoon as practicable for the former to act along the lakes, the latter ſhould meet and join him on the river *St. Laurence* before *Montreal*. Our other forces under Col. *Haviland*, at *Crown Point*, Sir *William Johnſon* at *Albany*,

bany, Lord *Rollo* at *Louiſbourg*, were likewiſe to draw together towards him, from their ſeveral ſtations. On the 9th of *July* 1760, General *Amherſt* arrived at *Oſwego* from *Schinectady*; off the harbour of which place, two *French* ſhips preſently after made their appearance: the General thought to have decoy'd them into the hands of Capt. *Loring* at *Niagara*, by engaging them in a chaſe after ſome boats ſent out for that purpoſe, but without ſucceſs. Soon after two *Engliſh* veſſels appeared upon the lake, and went in queſt of the ſaid ſhips, but they had, notwithſtanding, the good fortune to eſcape. Troops were now daily arriving from *Albany* and other places, particularly Sir *William Johnſon* with his *Indians*; and the General began to make the requiſite diſpoſitions for embarking them in order to procede to *Montreal*; and to faciliate that deſign, he detached a body of light infantry, grenadiers, and highlanders, to poſt themſelves at the bottom of the Lake, and aſſiſt in finding a paſſage for the veſſels down the river to *la Gallette*. *Schuyler*'s and *Murray*'s regiments being now arrived, and the reſt of the forces that were to join the General at *Oſwego*, he gave orders for the whole to embark. This being accompliſhed, they all proceeded down the river; and not long after paſſed the two ſnows which had been diſpatched in queſt of the *French* veſſels abovementioned; they had ſome how miſſed the right channel, and could get no lower. Here they received intelligence by an *Indian*, that one of the ſaid *French* veſſels was aſhore, and ſo much damaged, that ſhe could not get off, and that the other lay off *Gallette*. Upon this, the General reſolved to loſe no time, but haſten down the river to attack a poſt of the enemy at *Iſle Royale*: in his way he diſcovered one of the *French* veſſels, which the row gallies puſhed after and took. She mounted ten twelve pounders and four ſwivels. The ſame day the *Engliſh* army took poſſeſſion of *Swetgatchie*, and General *Amherſt* ſent engineers with proper parties down towards *Iſle Royale* to view the coaſt and ſituation of the iſlands near it. The report of the engineers cauſing no alteration of the diſpoſitions already formed, the General leaving ſome provincials and the heavy artillery at *Swetgatchie*, taking with him three row gallies, a body of regulars, the light infantry, the greateſt part of the *Indians*, and ſome light field pieces, rowed down by the north ſhore, paſſed the forts, and took poſſeſſion of the iſlands and coaſt below it, while Colonel *Haldimand* did the ſame on the ſouth ſhore, and took poſt oppoſite to the fort, but out of the reach of its guns. The *French* veſſel which had been taken, ſailed down the river between the gallies that carried the troops, to anchor at random ſhot from the fort, which was effected with the loſs of one galley and a few men, by a ſmart cannonading as they paſſed. Thus the place was completely inveſted. Two of theſe ſmall iſlands were found abandoned, and our *Indians* meeting with ſome ſcalps, which the enemy in their hurry had left, were ſo enraged, that they burnt all the houſes, and a chapel, to the ground.

On the 19th day of *Auguſt*, a battery was fixed upon each of the iſlands that were neareſt to the fort, and a third on a point of land upon the ſouthern ſhore; ground was broken, faſcines prepared, the heavy artillery and provincials left at *Swetgatchie* were ſent for, and the ſiege begun. As ſoon as the firing from the beſiegers commenced, the two ſnows beforementioned being now arrived, were ordered, with the prize, to fall down, cloſe to the fort; and with a proper number of markſmen aboard, to keep the enemy from their batteries. Diſpoſitions were alſo made for ſtorming, but the veſſels not proceeding as the General could have wiſhed, that deſign was deferred for the preſent. The fort in the mean while fired a great deal, but did very little execution, and our batteries by degrees diſmounted their guns. We continued to play upon them till the 25th of *Auguſt*, when the garriſon beat a parley, and capitulated. Whilſt General *Amherſt* was thus opening his way down the river to *Montreal*, General *Murray* was advancing on the other hand up the river to the ſame place. The manifeſtoes he publiſhed as he went on, drew the chief part of the inhabitants on the ſouthern ſhore to ſubmit themſelves and take the oath of neutrality. He heard nothing of General *Amherſt*, and was followed by M. *de Levis* with the bulk of his army in the rear; therefore Lord *Rollo* received orders from him to diſarm, and make the inhabitants of the northern ſhore ſwear, whenever it could be done without retarding his progreſs, which brought on likewiſe a ſubmiſſion of that ſide of the river. He much regretted the neceſſity he was under of burning the dwellings of a number of thoſe unhappy people, who had deſerted their pariſh called *Sorrel*, and were in arms; but the execution of his duty demanded this piece of ſeverity. On the 24th of *Auguſt* he arrived within nine miles of *Montreal*, the very day before fort *Louis* ſurrendered,

rendered, of which as yet he had no intelligence. General *Amherſt* ſince that time, had been employed in repairing the ſaid fort, and refitting his boats and veſſels, and in whatever elſe was requiſite for conveying the army down the river. He paſſed through the rapids, and the long ſall, to the iſle *au Chat*; thence rowed down lake *St. Francis* and encamped at *Baudet*. The next day ſome loſs was ſuſtained both of men, artillery, and boats, owing to the violence of the rapids in paſſing to iſle *Perrot* where he encamped that night with the regulars, while, as it was too late for them to proceede ſo far, the train and provincials did the ſame on the river ſide. The inhabitants of the iſland had all flown to the woods; but many were taken again, or came in. After giving them the oath of allegiance they were reinſtated in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their houſes; which unexpected lenity of treatment gave them no leſs ſurprize than joy. On the 6th of *September* by break of day, all the troops were embarked on board the boats, and proceeded in four columns by the right, the General intending to land at *la Chine* on the iſland of *Montreal*. He met with no oppoſition at his landing, except a few ſhot from ſome flying parties, which immediately ran towards the town, having broken down a bridge in their way; but that was ſoon repaired; and after a march of two leagues, the army was formed on a plain before *Montreal*, where they lay that night on their arms. They brought with them twelve pieces of cannon, moſtly of light artillery, and left the *New York* troops, and two *Connecticut* regiments, to guard the boats at *la Chine*.

The next day a letter was brought to the General by two officers from the governor, the marquiſs *de Vaudreuil*, which referred him to what one of them, the Colonel *Bougainville*, had to propoſe. The converſation ended in a ceſſation of arms till 12 o'clock; when articles of capitulation arrived from the Marquis; to theſe the General returned conditions of his own, and wrote to the Marquis. This was anſwered and replied to again. Letters alſo paſſed between M. *de Levis* and the General, relating to the ſame affair; which was concluded, and the terms of capitulation agreed to on the 8th of *September*; the day after General *Murray* with his troops from *Quebec* had landed below the town. The ſubſtance of the articles were, that the troops ſhould lay down their arms, and be ſent to old *France* at the expence of the *Britiſh* crown, within 15 days, not to ſerve again during the preſent war; and that the inhabitants, now the ſubjects of *Great Britain*, ſhould continue to dwell in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their houſes and property, with the free exerciſe of their religion. The ſurrendry of this place fully completed the conqueſt of *Canada* from the *French*, which vaſt country was thus wholly ſubdued in leſs than three years after the reduction of *Louiſbourg*.

A DESCRIPTION

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DESCRIPTION

OF

LOUISIANA.

THE province of *Louiſiana*, or the Southern part of *New France*, extends, according to the *French* geographers, from the gulph of *Mexico*, in about 29 degrees, to near 45 degrees of North latitude, on the Weſtern ſide, and to near 39 degrees on the Eaſtern; and from 86 to near 100 degrees W. longitude from *London*. It is bounded on the N. by *Canada*; on the E. by the *Britiſh* colonies of *New York*, *Penſilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North* and *South Carolina*, *Georgia*, and by the peninſula of *Florida*; on the South, by the gulph of *Mexico*; and, laſtly, on the Weſt by *New Mexico*. It contains, properly, the *French* ſettlements on both ſides the *Miſſiſſipi*, and is, by ſome, ſaid to be the nobleſt and richeſt province of all *North America*. Bounds of *Louiſiana*.

In that part which lies between the ſea coaſt and *Point Coupé*, a tract of about eighty two leagues, the air is not very wholeſome, becauſe of the inundations of the *Miſſiſſipi*, which overflows regularly every year from the end of *March* to the beginning of *July*, during which all the country near the river is entirely under water. It has been remarked that the winters have been more ſevere, for ſome years paſt, than they were commonly known to be at the time when the *French* firſt ſettled here, occaſioned, as is thought, by clearing the lands of the woods, or perhaps by ſome other unknown cauſe. The winter begins in this country about the end of *November*, and laſts till the end of *February*. During this ſeaſon there blows a ſtrong and piercing North Wind, and, whenever it changes from this point, the cold is interrupted by ſome intervals of moderate weather, and the ſharpneſs of the winter begins to diminiſh. They remark three ſorts of climates in this country: Towards the capital, and as high as *Point Coupé*, it ſometimes freezes very hard, but ſeldom or never ſnows: From *Point Coupé*, as far as the country of the *Akanſas*, the air is milder and more temperate; but towards the country of the *Ilinois*, at about five hundred leagues above *New Orleans*, the cold is extreamly piercing; the river *Miſſiſſipi*, and others in its neighbourhood, are generally frozen to ſuch a degree as to be paſſable by carriages. But, though the winter be ſevere, it is by far the moſt preferable ſeaſon in this province, becauſe of the great plenty of wild cattle, goats, and game of all ſorts; whereas, in the ſummer, the inhabitants are forced to be contented with fiſh, which is however exceeding plentiful, as are alſo fruits and greens. This ſeaſon laſts in *Louiſiana* from *March* to *September*, with exceſſive heats, and thoſe often followed by prodigious hurricanes. Theſe ſtorms are commonly accompanied with hail and thunder, and, in a country compoſed of woods, lakes, hills, and valleys, the continual echoes are very terrible. In the year 1737, at *New Orleans*, on a *Sunday*, fell a ſhower of hailſtones, ſome of which were as large as hen's eggs. Another inconvenience attending the ſummer in this country is, that in this ſeaſon the nights are as hot as the days, and the people are ſubject to ſuch terrible ſunburns as have been known to prove mortal, or elſe cauſe a peeling of the ſkin from the whole part affected. *Louiſiana* has ſcarce any autumn, and the burning heats of ſummer are immediately ſucceeded by white froſts, which appear towards the middle of *September*, and yet, what is more ſingular, obſtruct not in the leaſt the growth of ſallads and other garden ſtuff common in that ſeaſon. Temperature of air and ſeaſons.

Climate different from those of *Africa* and *Europe*

The climate of *Louisiana* varies in proportion as it extends towards the North. In general, its southern parts are not scorched like those under the same latitudes in *Africa*, though its northern regions are colder than those of *Europe* under the same parallels. *New Orleans*, situated in thirty degrees, which is the latitude of the northern coasts of *Barbary* and *Egypt*, enjoys the same temperature of climate with *Languedoc*. Two degrees higher, in the country of the *Natchez*, the climate is much more temperate than at *New Orleans*: And in the country of the *Ilinois*, which lies in thirty five and thirty six degrees, the summer is no hotter than at *Rochelle* in *France*, though the ice is stronger, and the falls of snow much greater, in the winter.

Difference of climate from causes.

This difference of climate from what is found in *Africa* and *Europe* is attributed to two causes: The first is, the great quantity of wood, and the number of rivers in this country; the former of which prevents the sun's heat from reaching the surface of the earth, and the other occasions the great humidity of the atmosphere. To these we may add the vast extent of country stretching towards the North, those winds which traverse large tracts of land being found by experience to be much colder than such as come from the sea, or meet with large portions of that element in their passage. Hence it is no wonder that a North wind should cause the inhabitants to put on more cloaths, even in the summer, or that a South wind in the winter should have a contrary effect. Several days often pass in *Louisiana* without seeing the sun. There is no rain, however, but violent showers, such as accompany thunder; but this bad weather never continues long, and in half an hour the heavens resume their natural serenity. The dews are in such abundance, as to supply the want of rain in this country.

Hence its salubrity.

Hence we may easily account for the extraordinary wholesomness of the air, and consequently for the just temperature of the blood, and that the inhabitants enjoy perfect health, free from acute diseases in their younger years, and retaining extraordinary vigour in old age; so that the span of life is no where extended to a greater length, nor with a happier state of health, than in *Louisiana*.

The same order will be observed in giving an account of the nature and situation of *Louisiana*, as in that of *Canada*. The description of this province will therefore properly begin with the country of the *Sioux* on the banks of the *Mississipi*, and by giving the most satisfactory account of the country on both sides that noble river to its mouth that can be found, not from hearsay, but from such as have travelled over it, and who, as they lived upon the spot, had all the necessary opportunities and advantages for that purpose, and who have made it their business to examine and illustrate the subject now before us.

Of the great river *Mississipi*.

The *Mississipi*, the chief of all the rivers of *Louisiana*, which it divides almost into two equal parts, was first discovered by Col. *Wood*, who spent almost ten years, or from 1654 to 1664, in searching its course; as also by Capt. *Bolt* in 1670, and in 1698 Dr *Cox* of *New Jersey* sent two ships, that discovered the mouth of this river, and sailing up 100 miles, took possession of the country, and called it *Carolana*. In 1699 the *French* first found this river, and called it *Colbert River*, in honour of their great minister, naming the country *Louisiana*. Some of the *Indian* nations in the Northern parts term it *Mischassepi*, or *The ancient Father of Rivers*, whence comes the name of *Mississipi*. They who inhabit the lower parts of the country call it, for what reason I know not, the *Balbaucha* or *Barbaucha*, but the name which the *French* sometimes give it, is the *St Louis*, and, by way of pre-eminence, *Le Fleuve*, or *The River*.

Vain attempts to discover its source.

Several attempts have been made by travellers, to discover the source of this river. Some voyagers, sent by M. *de la Salle* for this purpose, say that it takes its rise beyond the 50th degree of North latitude, in the country of the *Issatis* an *Indian* nation, whose country lies to the West of *Canada*. According to them, it springs from a large fountain, situated at the top of a rising ground, and by junction of the waters of five or six other rivers is increased so as to carry boats at no more than four or five leagues from its head.

But the most satisfactory account of it is that of M. *de Charleville*, a native of *Canada*, and nephew of M. *de Biainville*, general commandant in the colony when the *French* first settled it. This gentleman, moved by curiosity alone, undertook to trace this river to its source. For this purpose he fitted out a canoe, and set out with two of the natives for guides, some wares for traffic, provisions for the voyage, and ammunition. Thus equipped, he sailed up the *Mississipi*, three hundred leagues above the *Ilinois* river, as far as the famous cataract, called the *fall of St Anthony*. This cas-

Fall of *St Anthony*.

cade

cade is formed by a flat rock, which croſſes the river from ſide to ſide, and is from eight to ten feet in height. Here *Charleville* was obliged to carry his canoe and effects on ſhore. When he had paſſed the Fall, he reimbarked, and continued his voyage up the river a hundred leagues higher, and arrived amongſt ſome hunting parties of the *Sioux Indians*, inhabiting both ſides of the *Miſſiſſipi*, who told him, in their manner, that from the Fall of *St Anthony*, to the ſource of the *Great River*, the diſtance was as great as from thence to the *Great Water*, meaning the *Sea*; adding further, that the countries which lay in his way thither, were quite barren, and wholly deſtitute of game or any one thing neceſſary for the ſupport or conveniency of human life. This conjecture with reſpect to the remoteneſs of the ſource of the *Miſſiſſipi*, is the more probable, as ſeveral very conſiderable rivers diſcharge their waters into it far above this Fall, and becauſe, even higher than this place, the river is found to have from thirty to thirty five fathom water, and breadth in proportion; a convincing proof of its coming from a very conſiderable diſtance. To this might be added the opinions of the natives, who all agree in this opinion, and, no doubt, have it from other *Indians* living neareſt to its head. Head of *Miſſiſſipi* very remote

Though this gentleman could not viſit the ſprings of the *Miſſiſſipi*, he learnt, however, that many rivers fell into it, even above *the fall of St Anthony*, and ſaw ſeveral of them himſelf, which, after a courſe of a hundred leagues, and more, diſcharge themſelves into it on both ſides. Receives a multitude of rivers.

As little is known, beſides this general account, of the rivers which run into the *Miſſiſſipi* above the Fall; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with giving a deſcription of the chief of thoſe which diſcharge themſelves into it, from this famous cataract, downwards to the ſea. The firſt of theſe, on the Weſt, is *St Peter's River*, the banks of which are inhabited by the *Sioux*; and it enters the *Great River*, near the *fall of St Anthony*. Some leagues further, on the Eaſt, is *La Riviere de Sainte Croix*, *Holy Croſs* river, coming from the neighbourhood of *Lake Superior*; near its mouth copper is ſaid to have been found. Three leagues farther is *Iſle Pelée*, or the *Bald Iſland*, ſo called from its barrenneſs of all ſorts of trees. Lower down the river widens, forming a lake called *Lac de Bon Secours*, or *Lake of Good Help*, one league broad, and ſeven in circuit, ſurrounded with meadows. On the Weſt ſide of this lake *Nicholas Perrot* built a fort, in a very pleaſant meadow, which the *French* have often made the center of their commerce with the Weſtern quarters, and where they have even wintered, the country all round it affording plenty of all ſorts of game. *St Peter's* river. *St Croix* river *Pelée* Iſle. *Lac de Bon Secours.*

On the Weſt, 20 leagues lower, is the *Ouiſconing*, and on the ſame ſide with that river begins a meadow, ſixty leagues in length, and ſurrounded with mountains, which afford a moſt delightful proſpect. There is ſuch another on the left ſide, but not quite ſo extenſive. By this river Father *Marquette* and the Sieur *Joliet* entered the *Miſſiſſipi*, when they made their firſt diſcovery of that river. Here dwell the *Aiouez Indians*, whoſe country lies in 43 deg. 30 min. North latitude. They are reputed to be great travellers, and will march, as it is affirmed, from 20 to 30 leagues in one day, when free from the incumbrance of their families. Theſe *Indians* ſay that at three days journey farther are the habitations of the *Omans*, a nation of a fair complexion, eſpecially the women, and with light hair. They likewiſe tell us that theſe *Indians* are always at war with the *Panis*, and other Weſtern *Indians*, by whom they have been informed of a great lake at a vaſt diſtance, in the neighbourhood of which live a people dreſſed like *Europeans*, with buttons on their cloaths, inhabiting cities, exerciſed in the chace of the buffalo, mounted on horſes covered with the ſkins of thoſe beaſts, but without the uſe of any other arms than bows and arrows. *Ouiſconing* river. *Aiouez Indians.* *Oman Indians*

Ten leagues below the *Ouiſconing* are the lead mines, formerly diſcovered by the Sieur *Perrot*, and ſtill bearing his name. On the Eaſt ſide is the *Aſſeniſipi*, by the *French* called *la Riviere a la Roche*, *Rock River*, ſo named from a mountainous rock oppoſite to it, which ſtands in the channel of the *Miſſiſſipi*, and is ſaid to contain a quarry of rock cryſtal. Seven leagues lower you meet with two falls in the *Miſſiſſipi*, making ſo many carrying places; and eight leagues lower, on the W. ſide, enters the *Melingan* river, iſſuing from a vaſt and noble meadow, abounding with buffaloes and other wild game. This river is but ſhallow at its entry into the *Miſſiſſipi*, and beſides very narrow, notwithſtanding its long courſe of a hundred and fifty leagues from the North Weſt. It is ſaid to take its riſe from a lake, and to form another after it has run about fifty leagues from the firſt. From this ſecond lake it runs towards, *la Riviere Verte*, a branch of *St Peter's River*, and ſo named from the green colour of its bottom. Lead mines. *Aſſeniſipi* river *Melingan* river.

The

The banks of the *Moingona* are well ſtored with coal. At fifty leagues from its mouth is a large cape, or promontory, near which the waters are red, and of an offenſive ſmell, owing, as it is ſaid, to the large quantities of mineral ore, and, in particular, of antimony, found near this cape. At ſome diſtance from the *Moingona*, on the Weſt, is the *Riviere au Boeufs*, or *Buffalo River*; between this river and that of the *Ilinois*, on the Eaſt ſide of the *Miſſiſſipi*, have been diſcovered ſome very good ſalt mines or ſprings.

Buffalo river.

The next conſiderable river running into the *Miſſiſſipi* is the *Ilinois*; but, before this is deſcribed, it may not be improper to ſay ſomewhat of thoſe other rivers which fall into it in its courſe.

In travelling from *Canada* to the country of the *Ilinois*, by way of lake *Michigan*, there are two different routs: The firſt is by coaſting the South ſhore of that lake, and then going up the *Chicagon* river five or ſix leagues, whence paſſengers get into the river *Chicogou*, a branch of the *Ilinois*, after paſſing two carrying places, over land. The longeſt of theſe is not above a league and a quarter, but as the river ſometimes in the ſummer has not water ſufficient to carry a canoe, the other way is generally preferred. In this, leaving the fort of *St Joſeph*'s river, ſix leagues up the ſtream, and then landing on the ſouthern bank, is a carrying place a league and a quarter by the water ſide, and afterwards a vaſt meadow is to be croſſed, beautified with groves of wood, which render the proſpect extremely pleaſing. This is called *Buffalo's*, *Head* meadow, from the head of one of thoſe animals, of an enormous ſize, found in it. A league farther over the meadows is a kind of mere, or lake, which communicates with ſeveral others, the largeſt not above a hundred paces in circuit, which are the ſources of the river *Theakiki*, from *Theak*, ſignifying, in ſome of the *Indian* tongues, a *Wolf*, becauſe the *Machingans*, or *Wolf Indians*, had formerly taken ſhelter here. The *Theakiki* is ſo narrow and full of turnings and windings that canoes are often in danger of breaking, which makes the navigation of the *Theakiki* very tedious, ſo that after ſailing ten or twelve leagues very little progreſs has been made. The banks are covered with game, and every where produce vines, which bear great quantities of very large grapes. The courſe becomes gradually ſtraiter, and at fifty leagues from its ſource, though ſtill very narrow, the ſhores on both ſides ſhow wonderfully pleaſant, being covered with lofty trees, which, when they happen to fall into the water, obſtruct the navigation. A little beyond this it widens into a ſmall lake, the country is one continued meadow, to which the eye can find no bounds, where wander infinite herds of buffaloes, and nothing, in general, can ſurpaſs the richneſs of the proſpect. The *Theakiki* loſes in depth what it gains in breadth, ſo that travellers are often obliged to carry their canoes over land, where, without a guard, they run great riſques from the *Sioux* and *Outagami Indians*, drawn hither by the mortal hatred they bear the *Ilinois*. What makes this ſmall depth of water in the *Theakiki* the more ſurpriſing, is, that it receives conſiderable rivers in its courſe, and particularly that called the river of the *Iroquois*. At the *Forks*, or the junction of the *Theakiki* with the *Ilinois*, the former loſes its name. The reaſon of which is, no doubt, that the *Ilinois* river takes its name from an *Indian* nation ſettled on its banks.

Chicagou river

Courſe of the Theakiki.

The Forks.

Few rivers in *Europe*, the *Rhine* and the *Danube* excepted, excel the *Ilinois* after this junction, and no where can there be ſeen a finer or richer country than that which it waters, at leaſt as far down as *Pimitoui*. Fifteen leagues below the *Forks*, it acquires a depth proportional to its great breadth, and in this ſpace receives the waters of ſeveral other rivers, the chief of which is called *Piſticoui*, flowing from the fine country of the *Maſcoutins* towards the North. This river has at its mouth a cataract, called the *Coal-pit*, from the vaſt quantities of that mineral found in its neighbourhood. All this way are vaſt meadows, interſperſed with groves and thickets, and covered with graſs, ſo very rank, that the paſſenger is in danger of loſing himſelf in it, were it not for a multitude of beaten paths made over it, by the numberleſs droves of buffaloes, and herds of deer which traverſe it.

Ilinois river.

Piſticoui river

Coal-Pit cataract.

A league below the *Coal-pit*, on the right, is a round rock of a vaſt height, and its ſummit in form of a terraſs, called, from a village of thoſe *Indians* near it, the Fort of the *Miamis*; and about a league further, another on the left, called ſimply the *Rock*. This is the extremity of a riſing ground, which runs winding about two hundred paces along the ſide of the river, grown conſiderably wider in this place. It is ſteep on all ſides, and at a diſtance has the appearance of a fortreſs. Here are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of the paliſade of an intrenchment made formerly by the *Ilinois*, and eaſy to be repaired in caſe of an irruption of enemies.

The Rock.

Fort of Miamis.

Their

The *Indian* village is ſeated at the foot of the *Rock*, in an iſland, which, with ſeveral others, all wonderfully fruitful, divide the river into broad channels. The top of the mountain is a level terraſs, where ten men with arms might hold out againſt all the *Indians* of *Canada*, were it but provided with water, there being none nearer than the river, which it is impoſſible to come near, without being expoſed to an enemy.

The country here abounds with parrots, being the moſt northerly place where theſe birds are to be ſeen, and if they are ſometimes found on the banks of the *Theakiki*, it is in the ſummer only. Hence to Lake *Pimiteoui* is 12 leagues, which is only a widening of the river, is about three leagues long and one broad. At the weſtern extremity is another village of the *Ilinois*, about fifteen leagues from that of *the Rock*.

From hence they reckon twenty leagues to the *Miſſiſſipi*. The firſt of theſe villages is in forty one degrees of latitude, and the entry of the *Ilinois* in forty. From the *Rock* the river runs weſtward, and ſomewhat ſoutherly; there are alſo ſeveral iſlands, ſome of them conſiderably large. The banks are in ſeveral places very low, ſo that both ſides are under water in the ſpring, and afterwards covered with very long graſs. The whole courſe of it is ſaid to abound in fiſh, and in the adjacent meadows are vaſt numbers of deer and buffaloes, which latter make no difficulty of ſwimming the river, when purſued by the hunters. The next river which falls into the *Ilinois* downwards is the *Saguimont*, a large river flowing from the South; and five or ſix leagues lower that of the *Macopines*, coming from the ſame quarter, but not quite ſo large, and taking its name from certain roots ſo called, which, if eaten raw, are a rank poiſon, but boiled over a gentle fire, for five or ſix days or longer, have no noxious quality. Between thoſe two rivers you find the marſh called *Macboutin*, exactly in the middle, between the village of *Pimiteoui* and the *Miſſiſſipi*. Here may be diſcerned, after paſſing *Macopine* river, the banks of the Great River, which are very high, and ſituated at about twenty four hours ſail from this river, this delay being occaſioned by the winding of the *Ilinois* river in this place, where it alters its courſe from Weſt to South by Eaſt, and thence to Eaſt South Eaſt, in which direction at laſt, after abundance of meanders, and with a ſeeming reluctance, it mixes its waters with thoſe of the *Miſſiſſipi*.

Courſe of the Ilinois.

Saguimont Macopine rivers.

Macboutin marſh.

In this country, which belongs to the confederate *Indians*, and is eſteemed by the *French* geographers part of *Louiſiana*, is a *French* poſt, or ſettlement, at the village called *Tamaroas*. The country of the *Ilinois* is an excellent ſoil, abounding in buffaloes and other game. And here you meet with the firſt elks to be ſeen in this part of the world. Swans, and all other ſort of water fowl, are alſo in great plenty in theſe parts. This is eſteemed the beſt of all the *French* ſettlements in *Louiſiana* for producing corn, barley, and ſuch ſort of grain. All the huſbandry required, is to ſtir the ground ſlightly before it be ſown, which will alone ſuffice to produce an excellent crop; and it has been affirmed, that in a ſcarcity of corn at *New Orleans*, which happened during the laſt war, the *Ilinois* imported upwards of eight hundred thouſand weight to that capital. They alſo cultivate tobacco; but this thrives but indifferently, and ripens with great difficulty. All the plants which have been carried over from *France*, as alſo all manner of *European* fruits, ſucceed to a miracle.

Tamaroas village.

Fertility of the country of the Ilinois.

The firſt *French* diſcoverers of *Louiſiana* came down by the river of the *Ilinois*, in their way from *Canada* to the *Miſſiſſipi*, as all thoſe who have any buſineſs in the country of the *Linois* only ſtill do; but ſuch as intend for the *Lower Louiſiana*, or the *Illes*, deſcend, by the river of the *Miamis*, into the *Wabache*, and from that through the *Ohio*, into the *Miſſiſſipi*.

Inland navigation from Canada to Louiſiana.

There are ſeveral ſilver mines in this country, particularly one called *la Mine de la Motte*, which has been allayed, as have alſo two others of lead, ſo plentiful in ore, that they vegetate within a foot and half of the ſurface. The country North of the *Ilinois* is ſaid to have a great many mines.

Silver mines

Near the mouth of the *Ilinois*, on the right, is a vaſt ſavannah, or meadow, which is ſaid to contain copper in great quantities. This coaſt is perfectly charming, and very different from that oppoſite to it, which is a high ridge of rocky mountains, adorned with cedars, that hide the view of the beautiful meadows behind them.

Copper mine.

It is to be remarked further, with reſpect to the *Ilinois*, ſo often mentioned, that ſome have aſſerted, what ſeems confirmed by the information of a *Miſſicurite* woman, that thoſe *Indians*, as well as the *Miamis*, come originally from the borders of a ſea very far diſtant towards the Weſt, where it has been preſumed they had their firſt ſtation, and before they came down into the country they now inhabit, on the banks of

Origin of the Ilinois.

the *Moingona*; at leaſt it is certain that one of their tribes bears a name of this importance. A *Miamis* woman, taken by the *Sioux*, told Father *Pé*, ſuperior of the miſſions of *New France*, that ſhe had been conducted by the *Sioux* to a village of her own nation, ſituated very near the ſea. The other tribes of the *Sioux* are known under the name of the *Peouarius*, *Tamarouas*, *Cahokias*, and *Kaſkaiſkas*; and the two illages which bear their names conſiſt almoſt entirely of *Tamarouas* and *Metchigamias*, and foreign nations, coming from the banks of a ſmall river falling lower down into the *Miſſiſſipi*, and adopted by the *Kaſkaſkias*.

Advantages of the *French* ſettlement in this country.

The colony of the *Ilinois*, and the *French* poſt or ſettlement, among them has two advantages, one of which no other poſt of this country can diſpute with it, and the other renders it neceſſary to all the reſt of the province. The firſt is its commodious ſituation, by means of which a communication is maintained between the colonies of *Canada* and *Louiſiana*, equally beneficial to both. The ſecond is its fertility, which renders it the granary of *Louiſiana*, and capable of ſupplying it with corn in abundance, were it even peopled to the ſea.

The ſoil here is not only excellent for bearing wheat, but other neceſſaries for the ſupport of human life. The climate is mild and temperate, being in 38 deg. 39 min. North latitude. Cattle might here be reared with the greateſt eaſe; and even the vaſt herds of buffaloes tamed, and the fleſh, hides, and wool of thoſe beaſts made a very valuable article in the commerce of the colony. The air is healthful, and the diſeaſes, which are ſometimes known to prevail here, may, at leaſt in part, be owing to the indigence and libertiniſm of the inhabitants, and perhaps to the new breaking up and clearing of the lands; an inconvenience, which can have no long continuance. And in a colony once eſtabliſhed, the climate can have no ſort of effect upon ſuch as are born in it, though of *European* parents. For theſe reaſons the *French* have found means to attach the *Ilinois* to their intereſts more than any other *Indian* nation, the *Abenaquis* of *Acadia* only excepted. They are now almoſt all chriſtians, that is, zealous *Roman* catholics, and are ſaid to be of a very mild diſpoſition.

Temperature of the climate

The voyage down the *Miſſiſſipi* is very tedious, and the inconveniencies of it not a little heightened by the extreme cold in the winter ſeaſon, even in the Southern parts. The windings of the river make this voyage a courſe of four hundred leagues, and tho' there are no falls or rapid currents, as in the rivers of *Canada*, it neceſſarily takes up much time, and paſſengers make even leſs way than on the lakes where they are not favoured by any current. The cauſes of the cold are much the ſame with thoſe in the *Engliſh* Southern colonies.

Confluence of the *Miſſouri* with the *Miſſiſſipi*.

Five leagues below the conflux of the *Ilinois* river is the mouth of the *Miſſouri*, by which it diſcharges itſelf on the North North Weſt into the *Miſſiſſipi*, making, perhaps, the nobleſt junction of two rivers on the face of the earth. Both are nearly half a league in breadth, but the *Miſſouri* is much the more rapid of the two, and ſeems to enter the *Miſſiſſipi* with the air of a conqueror, carrying its white waters unmixed to the oppoſite ſhore, and communicating its colour to the other, which retains it all the remainder of its precipitate courſe to the ſea.

Near this conflux is an *Ilinois* village, inhabited by the tribes of that nation called *Cahokias* and *Tamarouas*, which form one very numerous canton. It ſtands on a ſmall river coming from the Eaſtern parts, and is without water, except in the ſpring at the diſtance of half a league. The reaſon they give why they built their town in ſo incommodious a ſituation, is, that when they firſt ſettled here, the *Miſſiſſipi* waſhed the walls of their cabins, but that in three years time it had loſt half a league of ground, and that they were then thinking of removing it to ſome other place, which, with the *Indians*, is a matter of no great difficulty.

It will not be improper to mention the other rivers which fall into the *Miſſouri*, together with the *Indian* nations inhabiting the adjacent country, and the qualities of the ſoil. The *Miſſouri* receives ſeveral other rivers in its courſe, particularly that of the *Canſes*, which has a courſe of above one hundred and fifty leagues. The opening of the *Miſſouri* into the *Miſſiſſipi* is ſaid to lie five hundred leagues from the ſea, three hundred from the Fall of *St Anthony*, and from the mouth or opening of the *Ohio* into the ſame river one hundred leagues.

Canſes river

Marameg river.

Five leagues below the *Miſſouri* is the river *Marameg*, where, after many trials, the mine company of this place diſcovered, in 1719, a vein of lead two foot below the ſurface,

ſurface, and running quite along a chain of mountains, with ſome hopes of finding ſilver; the event of which is yet unknown.

Among the nations inhabiting thoſe countries are the *Oſages*, a numerous people, dwelling by the banks of a river of the ſame name, which falls into the *Miſſouri* at forty leagues from its junction with the *Miſſiſſipi*, and who ſend regularly once or twice a year to perform the ceremony of the pipe amongſt the *Kaſkaſkias*. And fourſcore leagues from this opening is the nation of the *Miſſourites*, from whom the *French* have given name to this river, for want of knowing the true one. Higher up, is the nation of the *Canſez*, then the *Octatas*, by ſome called the *Mactotatas*, afterwards the *Aiouez*, next to them the *Panis*, a very numerous people, divided into ſeveral cantons, bearing very different names. The *Miſſouri* is ſaid to take its riſe among very lofty and bare mountains, behind which is another river, probably flowing from the ſame, and running Weſtward. This account ought to be of the greater weight, as no *Indian* nation is ſo much addicted to travel as the *Miſſourites*. All the nations now mentioned inhabit the Weſtern banks of the *Miſſouri*, except the *Aiouez*, who reſide on the Eaſtern, and are neighbours and allies to the *Sioux*. *Indian* nations of *Louiſiana*.

The ſoil through which the *Miſſouri* flows is ſaid to be meadow, for the moſt part level, fat, and without a ſtone, which is the cauſe why its waters are always thick and muddy, whereas thoſe of the *Miſſiſſipi*, flowing through a ſandy firm ſoil, are perfectly tranſparent. The *Miſſouri* is ſaid to be altogether unknown to the *French* any higher than two hundred leagues from its mouth, and moſt of the countries about it, and rivers which fall into it have been but imperfectly ſurveyed, and the country North of it is ſaid to be wholly undiſcovered. Soil.

The *French* had formerly a ſettlement on the Eaſtern point of an iſland ſome leagues long, oppoſite to the chief village of the *Miſſouri*, called *Fort Orleans*; and the Chevalier *Bourgmont*, who commanded in it, acquired the eſteem and confidence of the *Indians* in the neighbourhood of that river, ſo as to reconcile thoſe who had before been all of them at enmity and embroiled in wars one with another. Amongſt theſe people, thoſe who inhabited the Northern parts had the greateſt reputation for military proweſs. After the departure of this commiſſary the natives cut the throats of the garriſon, ſo that not a *Frenchman* eſcaped. *Fort Orleans.*

Some authors mention, in their account of this country, ſeveral other *Indian* nations on the banks of the *Miſſouri*, which are, according to them, the *Miſſourians*, from whom the river takes its name, the *Canſes*, the *Otbouez*, the two nations of the *Panis*, white and black, the *Panimakas*, the *Aiaouez*, and the *Oſages*, and, laſtly, the *Padoucas*, by far the moſt conſiderable of them all, as the *Otboues*, *Oſages*, and *Aiouez* are the leaſt numerous, and the others but indifferently powerful. Other nations

The *Spaniards*, jealous of the neighbourhood of the *French*, formed a deſign to eſtabliſh themſelves on the *Miſſouri*, at about forty leagues from the poſt of the *Illinois*, on purpoſe to ſtraiten the *French* boundaries on that ſide. In purſuit of their plan, they had determined, with the aſſiſtance of the *Oſages*, to exterminate the *Miſſourians*, to whom the others are mortal enemies. With this intent they aſſembled at *Santa Fé* a body of men, with families proper for a ſettlement, and provided them with a Jacobin for chaplain, beſides horſes, cattle, and other neceſſaries for an infant colony, the whole under command of an engineer. The multitude ſet forward, but miſſing their way, inſtead of their allies the *Oſages*, fell in with the *Miſſourians*, to whoſe chief the *Spaniſh* leader, taking him to be the head of his own friends, without farther ſcrutiny, addreſſes the harangue he intended, and probably got by heart, for the chief of the *Oſages*, acquainting him with the cauſe of his coming, which was to eſtabliſh a laſting peace with the people, and with their aſſiſtance to deſtroy the *Miſſourians*. The *Miſſourian* chief, diſſembling his real deſigns, ſeemed to accept of the offer with great alacrity, propoſing even means for the accompliſhment of the deſign, and at the ſame time inviting the *Spaniards* to indulge themſelves with two or three days reſt, after the fatigue of their journey, before they attempted to put it into execution, adding that it would be neceſſary for him to conſult with his warriors and ſeniors on the matter propoſed. During this interval the *Miſſourians* gave their gueſts the moſt magnificent entertainment in their power, and in the night, which was to have been the eve of their departure, fell upon the camp of the *Spaniards*, and cut them all off, man, woman, and child, only ſparing the Jacobin, whom, whether out of reſpect to his condition, or from the ſingularity of his habit, they ſaved from the general carnage, *Spaniſh* colony maſſacred.

amuſing

amuſing themſelves afterwards, in good weather, with cauſing him to ſhew his dexterity in horſemanſhip. But the Friar one day, taking his advantage of their ſecurity, gallopped off towards the *Spaniſh* ſettlements. This ſtory comes from the *Miſſourians* themſelves, who afterwards ſold the holy inſtruments and habits, and other ſpoil amongſt the *Illinois*.

Oſages and *Canſes* rivers.

Amongſt the rivers which run into the *Miſſouri* the moſt known is that of the *Oſages*, ſo called from the *Indians* of this name, inhabiting its banks, and near neighbours to the confluence of this river with the *Miſſouri*. But the moſt conſiderable of all is the river of the *Canſes*, which runs a courſe of two hundred leagues through a moſt pleaſant country.

Before we leave the *Miſſouri*, it may be proper to add ſomewhat relating to the manners of the *Padoucas*, the moſt powerful *Indian* nation dwelling on this river. Thoſe of them who live at a diſtance from the *Spaniards* cultivate no ſort of corn, but live by hunting, which they follow winter and ſummer. They have large villages compoſed of great cabins, capable of very numerous and almoſt patriarchal families. Here they make their ordinary abode, and hence you may ſee iſſuing forth at one time, a hundred hunters on horſeback, with bows and arrows. About four days journey from their dwellings, they meet with large herds of buffaloes. They carry their baggage, children, and tents, on the ſame horſes with them; a man on horſeback leading the convoy, by which means men, women, and children, travel light, and without embaraſſment or fatigue. After their arrival in the hunting country, they encamp near a rivulet, and always in a woody place, where they tie their horſes to a long rope whilſt they graze. Next day they mount each on his horſe, and make to the firſt herd of buffaloes, and always from the windward, that the beaſts may ſmell them, which they never fail to do, having a moſt exquiſite ſcent. The hunters purſue them on the gallop till the buffaloes are ſo fatigued as to loll out their tongues, and fall from running to walking, when the hunters leap from their horſes, and let fly their arrows, each killing his heifer, and ſometimes more, for they never deſtroy the males. Then tying their horſes to ſome tree, they flea the prey, take out the entrails, and cut the body in two, leaving all the reſt, as the head, feet, and inwards, to the wolves and other beaſts of prey. The ſkin is laid next the horſe, and the carcaſs upon it, and the reſt, if any, over that. Part is dreſſed on their arrival for immediate uſe, and the reſt broiled, in order to be kept good for ſome days after. In two days the ſame thing is repeated, and then they bring back the meat with the bones taken out to the camp. The women and young people dry it in the ſmoke, whilſt the men continue their hunting in the ſame manner as before. This meat ſo cured is brought laſtly to the village, where they leave their horſes to reſt for three or four days, when ſome others, who had remained at home whilſt their fellows were on the hunting party, take their places. This manner has given occaſion, to ſome miſinformed perſons, to conclude the *Padoucas* to be a wandering nation. As this people knows nothing, or very little of huſbandry, the *Spaniards*, who ſupply them with horſes, bring them always loaded with tobacco, garden ſtuff, and *Indian* corn, which they barter for buffalo ſkins, ſerving them for coverlids.

Hunting and curing of the buffalo.

Padouca Indians.

The *Padouca Indians* are a very numerous people, inhabiting a country near 200 leagues in extent, their villages reaching as far as the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *New Mexico*. They are acquainted with the value of ſilver, and, according to what they told the *French* on ſome occaſion, they actually worked ſome mines; and, at the ſame time, they informed them in what manner they proceeded. Thoſe dwelling in villages, at a diſtance from the *Spaniards*, have hatchets and knives made of flint; with the largeſt of the former they fell ſmall trees and underwood, and with the others they flea and cut up the beaſts they kill. Theſe people are far from a ſavageneſs of diſpoſition, and it is no difficult matter to get acquainted with them, as they have long frequented the *Spaniards*, and in the ſhort acquaintance the *French* have had with them, they have become very familiar; and in one of their villages, compoſed of 140 cottages, the dwellings of about 800 warriors, 1500 women, and at leaſt 2000 children, in which the *French* concluded a peace with ſeveral *Indian* nations of theſe parts, the inhabitants were deſirous to have ſome of that nation amongſt them, promiſing to take great care of them.

Flint hatchets and knives.

People of mild diſpoſition.

Polygamy, &c.

Polygamy ſeems to be in uſe among the *Padoucas*, and ſome of them have to the number of four wives. When they want horſes they make uſe of great dogs, brought up on purpoſe, to tranſport their baggage. The men for the moſt part wear breeches

of

of dreſſed ſkins, with ſtockings of the ſame piece, like the *Spaniards*. The women alſo wear boddices, to which their waiſtcoats, which are made of the dreſſed ſkins, are tied: Their waiſtcoats are adorned with a fringe of ſkins. Dreſs.

This nation is at preſent almoſt entirely deſtitute of *European* goods, and ſeems to have but a very ſlight knowledge of them. The people were wholly unacquainted with fire-arms, till the *French* firſt brought ſome amongſt them, and are extremely fearful of them, ſo that they will tremble and crouch on hearing a muſket fired. Fearful of fire-arms.

They commonly go to war on horſeback, equipping their horſes with ſkins prepared and hung round with pendants, to ſave them from the ſhot of arrows. In other reſpects their manners are entirely the ſame with thoſe of the other *Indians* of *Louiſiana*, in which they diſcover nothing barbarous, except in war, but are endowed with greater magnanimity, gratitude, and obſervance of their word and miniſters, and are leſs treacherous, and ſimpler in their diet, than thoſe others.

As to the ſoil of this country, our author, in this place, ſays, that from its excellent qualities that of *Louiſiana*, even to its utmoſt boundaries, may be ſeen. The commerce that might be carried on by means of the fur trade, which is at the ſame time highly lucrative, and without hazard, is very great.

From the manners and characters of thoſe nations this writer concludes, that thoſe Northern *Indians* of *America* muſt certainly derive their origin from the country of the *Scythians*. For if we go back two or three thouſand years, and look into times of remote antiquity, we ſhall find a perfect ſimilitude of cuſtoms and genius with thoſe of the antient *Scythians*, ſince called *Tartars*. An antient *Greek* author, who had frequented their country, and was certainly a judge in this point, tells us that the *Scythians* acknowledge one ſupreme God, the creator of heaven and earth, to whom they offered ſacrifice, and worſhipped under the image of the ſun. They live, ſays he, in perfect innocence of manners, and are very unjuſtly deemed barbarous, ſince they follow the pure dictates of nature, and know no other deſires than ſuch as are capable of being ſatisfied with the fruits of the earth, and with ſuch animals as ſerve them for food, keeping their promiſes to each other inviolate, maintaining great kindneſs and mutual affection in their families, exerciſing much hoſpitality towards ſtrangers, and an unbounded humanity towards all mankind, and juſtly preferring that happy ſimplicity to our politeneſs, or rather falſe refinements, and thoſe ancient and beneficent manners, which they derive from the firſt mortals, to all the enjoyments of that luxury and effeminacy which have corrupted the other countries of *Aſia*. Frugality with them is the parent of juſtice, and as they are void of covetouſneſs, they never make war to invade the property of others, and having no need of gold and ſilver, they have no paſſion for thoſe falſe riches. Nature, which is their miſtreſs, teaches them leſſons of morality, to which all the pride and arrogance of the *Greek* philoſophers could never attain; ignorance of vice performing more in them than the ſpeculative knowledge of virtue in nations under a better polity. Manners. Antient *Scythians* compared with Northern *Americans*.

To return from this beautiful leſſon of morality in *Herodotus*, the father of hiſtory, to the deſcription of *Louiſiana*: The next place worthy of notice from the *Miſſouri* down the *Miſſiſſipi*, is the village of *Kaskaſquias*, where the Jeſuits have a very flouriſhing miſſion, now divided into two, ſince the ſeparation of this canton into two villages. The moſt numerous is that next the *Miſſiſſipi*, under the direction of two Jeſuits in ſpiritual matters. Further down is fort *Chartres*, at about a muſket ſhot from the *Great River*, and the whole ſpace between the fort and river is now ſettled with *French* families. Four leagues ſtill further, and a league from the river, is another large *French* town, almoſt entirely ſettled with *Canadians*, with a Jeſuit for curate. The ſecond *Illinois* village is ſeated two leagues further up the country, and is alſo under the direction of a Jeſuit. *French* miſſions and ſettlements.

The *French* here are in good circumſtances; a *Fleming*, who was a domeſtic to the Jeſuits, ſhewed them how to ſow wheat, which ſucceeds very well; they have alſo both horned cattle and poultry. The *Illinois* likewiſe till the ground their own way, and are very induſtrious, breeding great numbers of poultry, which they ſell to the *French*. Their women too are very dextrous in ſpinning the wool of the buffalo, which they comb to an equal perfection with the *Engliſh* wool, and work it to ſuch a fineneſs that you would be apt to take it for real ſilk. Of this they make ſtuffs, which they dye black, yellow, and of a deep red, and make robes of them, which they ſew with the guts of deer, worked and ſpun into thread in a very ſimple manner. After the gut has been well cleared of the fleſhy parts, they lay it in the ſun for ſome days; when it is dry, Manufacture of buffalo's wool.

they beat it, and out of it very eaſily make a thread, equal in fineneſs, and much ſuperior in ſtrength, to that of *Mechlin*.

French town. The *French* town is bounded on the North by a river, the banks of which are ſo high that, though the water ſometimes riſes twenty five feet, it ſeldom overflows. All this country is open, conſiſting of immenſe meadows, ſeparated only by ſmall tufts of trees, all excellent in their kind; but the moſt common is the white mulberry, which, to the great detriment of the colony, the inhabitants are ſuffered to fell for building their houſes, though they are in no want of other timber, equally fit for this uſe.

Dangerous ſailing on the *Miſſiſipi*. The river here has been known to freeze ſo hard as to carry waggons though it be at leaſt a full league in breadth, and more rapid than the *Rhone*. This is very ſurpriſing, as the winter in this country is ſcarce perceptible, except ſome ſlight froſts, when a North or North Weſt wind blows. The change of climate is not very quick, on account of the ſlow navigating here, which in a bark canoe becomes very dangerous, from the great quantities of trees falling from this and the other rivers that run into it, which are often ſtopt againſt ſome points of land, and thereby interrupt the courſe of this river.

Pirogues. Hence it is that, inſtead of canoes, they make uſe of pirogues, that is, hollowed trunks of trees, which, though not ſubject to theſe inconveniences, are, however, very heavy, and not eaſily managed, and ſome of them are ſo narrow as to be incapable of a ſail; beſides, the rowers, accuſtomed to paddle in canoes, are not very dexterous at that exerciſe. And again, if the wind ever happen, to blow high, which is generally the caſe in winter, the boat is always in danger of filling with water. The river of the *Kaſkaſquias* is very ſmall.

Short ſummer The leaves fall ſooner in this country than in *Europe*, and are much later in budding than with us, not beginning to ſhoot till towards the latter end of *May*. The cauſe is by ſome aſcribed to the number of trees which ſhade the ground, and intercept the rays of the ſun, whence it is long before the earth acquires heat enough to cauſe the ſap of plants to circulate, and ſprout forth in buds and leaves.

Canes. Eight leagues lower, on the left, is *Cape St Anthony*. Here are ſeen the firſt canes, which are much like thoſe that grow in *Europe*, only longer and thicker. It is aſſerted by ſome, that theſe canes grow only on good land; but moiſture likewiſe is required, and ſuch lands are more proper for rice than wheat. They are not at the trouble to grub them up when they deſign to clear the grounds where they grow, which would be a very difficult taſk, becauſe their knotty roots are very long, and ſpread to a great diſtance. Theſe roots have a fine natural gloſs, or varniſh, like the bamboos of *Japan*, of which thoſe fine canes are made which the *Dutch* ſell under the name of rattans.

Clearing and manuring a Field. When therefore they intend to cultivate a field covered with theſe canes, they cut them cloſe by the root, and leave them to dry; when dried, they ſet fire to them, and the aſhes ſerve for manure, and the fire opens the pores of the earth, which is firſt ſlightly broken, and then ſown with any kind of ſeed they think proper, ſuch as rice, maiz, water-melons, and, in general, all ſorts of grain or pulſe, except wheat, which in thoſe fat lands run, all to ſtalk and leaves, producing no ſeed at all. This defect might eaſily be remedied by ſpreading the ground with a good quantity of ſand, and ſowing maiz on it for the firſt two or three years.

Woods occaſion blights. As for high grounds, and ſuch as are not expoſed to the inundations of the river, they are in a condition to bear corn; and if the firſt attempts made to cultivate wheat have failed by blights, it muſt be aſcribed to the neglect of clearing the country of the woods, whence the air could not have free acceſs to diſperſe the fogs which engender thoſe blights. In proof of this may be ſhewn the country of the *Ilinois*, in which being generally meadow land, the wheat ſprouts and ripens as well as in any part of *Europe*.

Ohio river. Seven leagues further, after very dangerous ſailing, on account of the *Cherokees*, *Outagamis*, *Sioux*, and *Chicachas*, which infeſt it, who are enemies to the *French*, and have never made any peace with that nation, is the fine river *Ohio*, which may be navigated as far as the country of the *Iroquois*, when the waters are high. This river at its entry into the *Miſſiſipi*, is at leaſt a quarter of a league broad; and no place can poſſibly be more proper for a ſettlement than where theſe rivers meet. A fort here, *Charlevoix* ſays, would effectually bridle the *Cherokees*, at preſent the moſt populous nation in all this continent.

Six

Six leagues from the *Obio*, on the Eaſt, is a very high coaſt, which is of a yellow earth, and ſaid to contain iron mines. It is infeſted with a kind of wild cats, called *Pigous*, very like ours in *Europe*, but larger. They are remarked to have ſome of them ſhorter, and others much longer and thicker tails. They are alſo of a very fierce appearance, and are ſaid to be very carnivorous, and excellent hunters. The foreſts are full of walnut-trees, ſuch as thoſe in *Canada*, the roots of which have ſeveral properties peculiar to thoſe of this country. They are very tender, and the bark of them is uſed for dying black; but their principal virtues are medicinal, as they are good for ſtopping a flux, and an excellent emetic.

Iron mines. Wild cats. Medicinal nut-trees.

It is to be remarked of the *Miſſiſſipi*, that the farther it runs the more winding it grows, and, what is ſingular enough, the wind follows the direction of all thoſe windings. They reckon fourſcore leagues from the narrow river of the *Chicachas*, on the Eaſt ſide, to the *Kaſkaſquias*, though by land the diſtance is not above one half. The river is divided, from ſpace to ſpace, by a number of iſlands, ſome of conſiderable bigneſs, into many beautiful channels, where the greateſt ſhips may paſs; and it is affirmed that they find 60 fathom water, at a hundred and fifty leagues from the ſea.

Miſſiſſipi winding and very deep

The river *Margot* runs into the *Miſſiſſipi* on the Eaſt. A *French* general commandant, having landed in this river, in his expedition againſt the *Chicaſaws*, built a fort on it called *Aſſumption* Fort; but it was razed next year, when a peace with thoſe *Indians* was concluded.

Aſſumption Fort.

On the Weſt ſide the river *St Francis* enters the *Miſſiſſipi*; here the *French*, when at war with the *Natchez*, built a fort to ſerve for a ſtorehouſe to their troops, which were marching againſt thoſe *Indians*.

French Fort.

As to the foreſts of *Louiſiana*, with which this vaſt province is almoſt entirely covered, there is nothing in nature comparable to them, whether we regard the bulk and height of the trees, the variety of kinds, or the uſes which may be made of them. For, excepting the dying woods, which grow only in hotter climates, and between the tropics, we cannot mention any ſpecies of timber which this country does not produce. There are woods of cypreſs from eight to ten leagues in extent; and the height and bulk of this ſpecies are always in a due proportion, and both exceed the dimenſions of the largeſt timber in *Europe*.

Noble foreſts of *Louiſiana*.

It is not long ſince the *Europeans* obſerved an evergreen laurel, called the *Tulip-tree*, from the figure of its flower. This plant riſes to a greater height than our *Indian* cheſnut, and is adorned with more beautiful flowers. The *Copalm-tree* is higher and thicker than the tulip-tree, and diſtils a balſam, very little inferior to the *Peruvian*. All the known ſpecies of walnut-trees, and all ſorts of trees proper for carpentry, or joiner's work, abound every where. But great caution is to be uſed in the choice of timber, not to chuſe ſuch as grows on the banks of rivers, nor in any place ſubject to the inundations of the *Miſſiſſipi*, ſuch timber being not only too heavy, but, from having its roots always in the water, is very ſubject to rot, and decays preſently.

Tulip-tree. Plenty of timber.

The next place is the firſt village of the *Akanſas*, built in a ſmall meadow on the Weſtern banks of the *Miſſiſſipi*. There are three more within the ſpace of eight leagues, each inhabited by a particular tribe or canton. There is a village which contains two tribes, but however diſpoſed, they all go by the general name of *Akanſas*. One of theſe tribes is particularly diſtinguiſhed under the denomination of *Ouyapes*, or *Wiapes*. The *French Weſt India* company had ſome time ago a warehouſe here, with a clerk, who paſſed his time in a diſmal ſolitude.

Villages of *Akanſas*. *French* warehouſe.

The river of the *Akanſas*, which, as is pretended, comes from a very great diſtance, and at 120 leagues from its mouth is ſaid to precipitate itſelf from a high chain of mountains, making a fall eighty feet high, which M. *Dumont* adviſes as a proper and convenient place from which to ſet out in order to diſcover the Weſtern ocean, which he ſays is but 120 leagues diſtant, diſcharges itſelf into the *Miſſiſſipi* by two channels, four leagues from each other. This river takes its riſe, as is ſaid, in the country of the *Panis*, probably the ſame with thoſe called *Panis ricaras*. The navigation of the *Akanſas* is very difficult, becauſe of its frequent falls, and rapid currents, its ſmall depth of water, and great number of carrying-places.

Akanſas river

The *Fork* of the two branches is ſeven leagues diſtance from the ſecond opening, and but two from the firſt. This is the river to which M. *de la Harpe* was ſent to make the diſcovery of a rock of emeralds. It receives the waters of a beautiful ſtream coming from the country of the *Oſages*, called *La Riviere Blanche*, or *White River*.

White River.

Two

Indian nations.

Two leagues higher are the *Torimas* and *Topingas*, making between both but one village. Two leagues above this are the *Sothouis*, and a little further ſtill the *Koppas*, a nation very numerous in the time of *Ferdinand Soto*, and even ſo late as when M. *de la Salle* was here. Oppoſite to their village may be ſeen the ſad remains of *Law's* Grant which fell to the ſhare of the company. One hundred and twenty leagues from the *French* poſt is a navigable river which the *French* have ſailed up, and where the Sieur *de Villemont*, who came hither by the way of the *Black* River of the *Akanſas*, had a grant.

Law's grant.

Colony diſappointed of *Palatines*.

To theſe parts nine thouſand *Germans*, raiſed in the *Palatinate*, were deſigned to be ſent; but, to the great prejudice of the colony, theſe induſtrious peaſants never did arrive. There is, perhaps, no country in all *Louiſiana*, next to that of the *Illinois*, more proper for raiſing all ſorts of corn as well as for rearing of cattle.

Deſolation by the ſmall pox.

In 1721 the village of the *Wyapes* was fallen to utter decay. Some time before a *Frenchman* paſſing this way was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, which ſoon infected the ſtrongeſt natives, and ſpread itſelf through the whole canton. The burying ground had the appearance of a foreſt of poles and poſts newly erected, according to the *Indian* manner, and hung with all manner of trinkets. This is alſo reckoned the proper place whence to ſet out in ſearch of the place marked in *De l'Iſles* maps, as being ſituated on the Weſtern ocean.

Akanſas handſome.

The *Akanſas* paſs for the talleſt and handſomeſt of all the *Indians* of *America*, and are therefore called by way of diſtinction *the Handſome Men*. For this reaſon they are thought to have the ſame original with the *Canſes* on the *Miſſouri*, and the *Poutewatamis* of *Canada*. The firſt branch of the river *Akanſas* ſeems not above five hundred paces in breadth, and the ſecond is much narrower.

Pointe Coupée is a high promontory, advancing into the river from the Weſt. It has been cut by the river, whence it has obtained this name, and ſo is become an iſland; but the new channel is not as yet navigable, except when the water is much ſwelled. The diſtance from hence to the greater branch of the *Akanſas* is computed at two and twenty leagues, though the direct courſe be ſcarce above ten, for the *Miſſiſſipi* turns and winds, in an extraordinary manner, between the village of the *Wyapes* and the river of the *Yazou Indians*, which is 70 leagues diſtance.

Yazou river.

The entry of the *Yazous* river lies North Weſt and South Eaſt, and is about 200 feet in breadth. Its waters are red, and, as ſome pretend, give the bloody flux; and the air in the neighbourhood is very unwholeſome. Three leagues hence is the *French* fort, which was ſome time ſince intended to have been tranſported from this place to a more healthy ſituation, in a fine meadow, cloſe by a village inhabited by a medley of *Yazous*, *Couroas*, and *Oſogoula Indians*, who together may be able to muſter about two hundred warriors. The *French* are, however, very diſtruſtful of thoſe *Indians*, on account of their connections with the *Engliſh*. Six leagues from its mouth, is the Grant of M. *le Blanc*, who had a fort and garriſon here, deſtroyed by the *Indians* in 1730. A league from this place is an *Indian* village, and near it an hill, on which are to be ſeen the remains of an *Engliſh* fort. This river is navigable 45 leagues above its mouth, after which it divides into two branches, and abounds with crocodiles, from twelve to fifteen feet long. They are never heard to cry but in the night, and their bellowing ſo exactly reſembles that of a bull, as to be eaſily miſtaken for it. The *French*, however, bathe here with as much ſecurity as in the *Seine* at *Paris*; and though thoſe animals never fail to ſurround them all the time they continue in the water, they are, however, not in the leaſt apprehenſive of them, as the crocodiles never attempt to moleſt them while they are in the river, only watching the moment they come out of it to ſurpriſe them. The way to ſave themſelves, in this caſe, is to beat the water with a ſtick, which they never omit to carry with them, and by this means are in perfect ſecurity.

Indian Villages.

Crocodiles.

The company have what they call a warehouſe *d'Attente* [that is, an occaſional one] in this ſettlement, as well as in that on the *Akanſas*; but the fort and ground on which it ſtands belonged to a ſociety of *French* gentlemen. It is not eaſy to gueſs what made them chuſe the river of the *Yazous* for their Grant, when they had it in their power to fix on a ſpot of better land, as well as a more proper ſituation. What probably determined their choice, was the importance of commanding this river, which riſes in the *Engliſh* colony of *Carolina*, for keeping a bridle on the *Yazous*, who are allies of the *Cherokees*, an *Indian* nation under the protection of the crown of *Great Britain*.

French important ſettlement.

Below

Below the *Yazous* is a gulf, or whirl-pool, so dangerous that Father *Charlevoix* tells us that, had it not been for a *Natché Indian*, the only person with him who knew any thing of it, he had been certainly lost in it. For, before you can perceive you are so far engaged as to be under an utter impossibility of extricating yourself. This dangerous gulf lies under a high cape on the left, containing, as they say, good quarries of stone which, in general, is scarce enough in *Louisiana*; but that defect is amply supplied by the great conveniency for making brick. *Whirl-pool.* *Quarries.*

The next country is that of the *Natché Indians*, the most beautiful, fruitful, and populous of all *Louisiana*, forty leagues distant from the *Yazous*, and situated on the same side of the river. The landing-place is opposite to a high and steep cliff, at the foot of which runs a stream navigable for pirogues and shallops. After this first height is a second tolerably easy, and on its top, a sort of redoubt inclosed within palisades, which, in this country, is called a fort. *Natché Indians.* *Redoubt.*

M. *de Iberville*, the first *Frenchman* who entered the *Mississipi* by the sea, sailed up as high as the country of the *Natchez*, and found it so delightful, and advantageously situated, that he concluded it the fittest place that could be found for erecting a metropolis of the whole colony. Wherefore he drew the plan of a city, to which he gave the name of *Rosalie*, after the lady of the chancellor *Pont Chartrain*. This project, however, appears not to have been carried into execution, though the name of this city is retained in most maps, and particularly by *D'Anville* is called *Fort Rosalie*. *Fine country.* *Rosalie* name for a metropolis.

Father *Charlevoix*, though of opinion that the chief emporium in the first times, of the colony, at least, would be more properly seated nearer the sea, yet thinks that in case the colony which he believes likely enough to thrive, should ever arrive at any high degree of wealth and populousness, this place would be as fit a spot as any to support a capital. It is not subject to be overflowed by the river, the air is pure and wholesome, the country extensive, fruitful in all sorts of grain, pulse, and herbage, and, what is of vast advantage, extremely well watered. Besides, it is at no such immense distance from the sea, but that ships may easily sail up to it. And lastly, it is within a proper distance of all those places on which the *French* propose to settle, which he seems to think a principal point. The *French* had here, in 1721, a warehouse, with a chief factor, who had no great business on his hands. *Seat for a capital.* *French* factory.

Amongst the many Grants in this territory, which, at the time now mentioned, were already in a good way, we find two of a large extent, consisting of a square of four leagues. One of these belongs to the people of *St Maloes*, and the other to the company, who have sent labourers hither from *Clerac* to plant tobacco. These two Grants are situated so as to form, with the fort, an equilateral triangle the sides of which are a league in length; half way between the angles is the great village of the *Natchez*. The granted lands are both watered by a fine river, which discharges itself at two leagues distance into the Great River; and a noble wood of cypress-trees serves for a screen to the company's plantation. The cultivation of tobacco succeeded perfectly well, though most of the workmen of *Clerac* are long since returned to *France*. The cultivation of indigo and cotton was undertaken much about the same time. *French* grants and plantations.

The great village of the *Natchez* has been long since reduced to a very small number of cabins; and the reason given for it is, that the great chief has a right to seize at pleasure all the effects of his subjects, who, to avoid his rapine, take the first opportunity to desert him; the revolters forming several hamlets, or cantons, at some distance from the great village, which, as it is besides the residence of the court, is respected as the capital of the nation. The *Sioux Indians*, allies to the *Natchez* and *French*, are also settled in a canton in the neighbourhood. *Indian* capital and cantons.

Four leagues from the *Natchez* is a small river, where the *Mississipi* makes a circular sweep of fourteen leagues. Forty leagues farther down is another river, where the boats lie to in the night, and where the noise of the multitudes of fish that gambol in the river is prodigious. Two leagues farther is the river of the *Tunicas*, which, though but a rill at its mouth, at the distance of a musket shot up the country forms a considerable lake. The river of the *Tunicas* is represented by *D'Anville* as crossing a neck of land, and, by joining with the *Mississipi*, shortens the passage of that river 10 leagues. River of *Tunicas*.

The village of the *Tunicas* stands on the other side of the lake, on a considerable eminence; the air is said to be but indifferently wholesome, which is ascribed to the quality of the water, or, perhaps with more justice, to the stagnation and putrefaction of the waters Village of *Tunicas*.

of the lake. The village itſelf is of a round form, with a large ſquare in the middle, without walls, and but indifferently peopled. The chief's cabin is highly ornamented on the outſide for the reſidence of an *Indian*: There are figures in relief graven upon it, and of more tolerable workmanſhip than one would naturally expect in ſuch a place. The inſide is, however, but ill lighted, and without any of thoſe coffers which, as ſome travellers tell us, were filled with ſtuffs and ſilver. The chief appears in a *French* or *European* dreſs, with an air perfectly free and unaffected. The *French* officers in *Louiſiana* place their chief truſt and confidence in this perſonage, who is much attached to that nation, which, on the other hand, ſtrives to repay his good ſervices with intereſt; a juſt piece of policy, and worthy the imitation of all who would do their country any ſervice amongſt the natives of *America*. He trafficks alſo with that people, furniſhing them with horſes and poultry, and is ſaid to have good notions of trade. He has alſo learnt of the *Europeans* to hoard up money, and paſſes for a man of ſubſtance in that part of the world. The other cabins of this village are partly of a ſquare form, like that of their chief, and partly round, in imitation of thoſe of the *Natchez*: The ſquare on which they are all built is about an hundred paces diameter. Two other villages of the ſame nation, at a ſmall diſtance from this, are all the remains of a nation once very numerous. The *Tunicas* had formerly a miſſionary amongſt them, of whom they were extremely fond; but drove him out after ſome time, for burning their temple, which, however, they have been at no pains to rebuild, nor have they rekindled their ſacred fire; whence we may judge of their zeal for their own, or indeed for any religion. Some time afterwards they recalled their miſſionary from his exile; but their native indolence got ſo much the aſcendant over all his preaching, that he was obliged to abandon them in his turn.

Reſidence, dreſs, and character of the chief.

Pruiſeſs zeal of a miſſionary.

A carrying-place.

At the bottom of the lake of the *Tunicas*, is a carrying-place of about two leagues, that ſaves ten leagues of the way by the Great River. Two leagues from the river of the *Tunicas* is the *Rio Colorado*, or the *Red River*, formerly called *la Riviere de Mârne*, the *Oumas*, and *la Riviere Sabloniere*, as alſo the *River* of the *Natchitoches*, after the *Indians* inhabiting its banks; but it retains only the name of *Red River* from the colour of its ſands: The *French* built a fort here in 1745, 36 leagues from the *Miſſiſſipi*. The *Indians* ſay that this river runs from a lake, on which they never ſail on account of the great ſwelling of its waves. From the ſame lake proceeds the river *Noire*, or *Black River*, which, after a courſe of 120 leagues, diſcharges itſelf into the *Red River*. It was hither the *Natchez Indians* retired in 1730, after having deſtroyed all the *French* in their country.

Red and black rivers.

The *Red* river is only navigable for canoes, or pirogues, for forty leagues, afterwards it is nothing but unpaſſable moraſſes. Its opening appears to be about two hundred paces broad. Ten leagues above its mouth it receives on the Weſt *la Riviere Noire*, or *the Black River*, otherwiſe called the River of the *Ouatchitas*. This flows from the North, and is quite dry for ſeven months of the year. Though here are ſeveral grants, yet not one of them appears in a fair way of thriving, ſince their only motive was the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, at all times a fatal bait to the *French* of *Louiſiana*; for, in hopes of carrying on a trade with that nation, the beſt lands are uncleared and uncultivated. The *Natchitoches* are ſettled on the *Red River*, and the *French* have thought fit to build a fort in their country, to prevent the *Spaniards* from ſettling in the neighbourhood of the colony.

French grants and hopes.

Fort.

New-cut iſland.

Twelve leagues below the mouth of the *Red River* is a ſecond *Pointe Coupée*, or *New-Cut Iſland*; the Great River makes a large winding in this place. Some *Canadians*, by opening a ſmall gut that lay behind a point, let in the waters of the *Miſſiſſipi*, which pouring through it with great impetuoſity finiſhed the canal about thirty feet fathom deep, by which travellers ſave fourteen leagues. The bed of the river is now become quite dry, except in time of an inundation; a manifeſt proof that the *Miſſiſſipi* preſſes towards the Eaſtern ſide in this place; a particular to be carefully remarked by ſuch as intend to ſettle on the banks of that river.

Remark on the *Miſſiſſipi*.

French ſettlements.

To the North of this cut, and on the ſame ſide, is another grant, or ſettlement, called *La Conceſſion de Ste Reyne*, in a very unthriving condition; and a league South is another, expoſed to the ſame danger with the preceding. The ſoil on which this laſt ſtands is excellent, but the building, of neceſſity, erected at a quarter of a league diſtance from the river ſide, behind a cypreſs wood, the bottom of which is ſwampy, though capable of producing rice and garden-ſtuff. Two leagues within the wood is a lake two

leagues

leagues in circuit, abounding with wild fowl, and its waters might be made productive of plenty of fiſh, by deſtroying the crocodiles which ſwarm in it. Lake.

The male cypreſs bears a ſort of berry, or knob, which, if gathered green, affords a balſam, which is a ſovereign cure for cuts. That which diſtils from the copalma, beſides its other virtues, is alſo ſaid to cure the dropſy. The root of the great cotton-tree, formerly mentioned, and which is to be found the whole way from Lake *Ontario*, is an aſſured remedy for burns and ſcalds of all ſorts. They take the inner pellicle, or bark, and boil it in water, then bath the wound with this water, and afterwards ſtrew on it the aſhes of the ſame pellicle burnt for that purpoſe. Medicinal balſams and roots.

Three leagues farther is the well ſituated grant of M. *Diron d'Artaguette*, where are tortoiſes of a monſtrous ſize, and ſo very ſtrong that they are ſaid to break a thick bar of iron with their paws. This ſpot is called the grant of the *Baton Rouge*, or *Red Staff*. Twelve leagues below are the *Bayagoula Indians*, the ruins of whoſe village are ſtill to be ſeen. About fifty years ago it was very populous, when part of the inhabitants were carried off by the ſmall-pox, and the reſt ſcattered and diſperſed by their fears, and have never been heard of ſince, ſo that it is much doubted whether there be a ſingle family of them now in being. The ſettlers here have long applied themſelves to the cultivation of ſilk, and for that purpoſe have planted great numbers of mulberry trees. They have alſo cultivated tobacco and indigo, which have long thrived wonderfully. Huge tortoiſes. Grant of the *Red Staff*. *Bayagoulas*. Culture.

The next place is the little village of the *Oumas*, ſituated on the Eaſt ſide of the river, and containing ſome *French* houſes; the great village ſtands a quarter of a league higher up the country. This nation is allied, and zealouſly affected to the *French*. Two leagues above this the *Miſſiſſipi* divides into two ſtreams, making what is called a *Fork* in this country, by working and hollowing out to itſelf on the right, upon which it continually preſſes in theſe parts, a channel called the *Fork of the Chetimachás*, or *Stimachás*, which, before it pours its waters into the ſea, forms a lake of moderate extent. The *Chetimacha Indians* are now almoſt entirely deſtroyed, thoſe who remain of them ſerving as ſlaves in the *French* colony. *Oumas* and *Stimachas Indians*. Fork.

Six leagues below the *Oumas* is the grant of the Marquis *d'Anfenis*, moſt delightfully ſituated, but ſince reduced to nothing by fire and ſome other fatal accidents. The *Colapiſſas* had formed a ſmall village in this place, which ſubſiſted no long time. Below is the great village of that nation, much the pleaſanteſt and fineſt of all *Louiſiana*, though it muſters only two hundred warriors, but all of them of undaunted bravery. Their cabins are in form of a pavilion, like thoſe of the *Sioux*, and they very ſeldom uſe any fire in them. They have double hangings, that on the inſide conſiſting of a texture of the leaves of the latanier, and the outer compoſed of matts. The chief's cabin is thirty ſix feet in diameter, one of the greateſt any where to be ſeen, that of the ſun among the *Natchez* having only thirty. Five leagues further is ſeated the grant called *the Burnt Canes*, between which and the *Colapiſſas* the ground on which formerly reſided the *Taenſas* nation, which, in M. *de la Salle's* time, made a great figure in this country, but has ſometime ſince entirely diſappeared. Next in courſe is the place called the *Chapitoulds*, two leagues from *New Orleans*, which, as well as ſome neighbouring habitations, are in a very proſperous way. The land is fertile, and, and what is more, has fallen into the hands of very induſtrious perſons. Great village of the *Colapiſſas*. Burnt canes and *Chapitoulds* ſettlements.

Ten leagues before the ſtream reaches *New Orleans* is the ſettlement of the *Germans*, who, after the diſgrace of Mr *Law*, abandoned his plantation at *Arkanſas*, and obtained leave of the council to ſettle in this country. Here, by means of their application and induſtry, they have got extremely well cultivated plantations, and are the purveyors of the capital, whither they bring, weekly, cabbages, ſallads, fruits, greens, and pulſe of all ſorts, as well as vaſt quantities of wild-fowl, ſalt pork, and many excellent ſorts of fiſh. They load their veſſels on the *Friday* evening, towards ſunſet, and then placing themſelves two together in a pirogue, to be carried down by the current of the river, without ever uſing their oars, arrive early on *Saturday* morning at *New Orleans*, where they hold their market, whilſt the morning laſts, along the banks of the river, ſelling their commodities for ready money. After this is done, and when they have provided themſelves with what neceſſaries they want, they embark again on their return, rowing their pirogues up the river againſt the ſtream, and reach their plantations in the evening with proviſions, or the money ariſing from the produce of their labours. Induſtry of the *German* ſettlers.

New

New Orleans capital of *Louiſiana.*

New Orleans, the famous metropolis of *Louiſiana*, is the firſt city which this king of rivers, the *Miſſiſſipi*, ever beheld upon its banks. The accounts given of the eight hundred fine houſes, in five pariſhes, before the year 1722, appear much exaggerated, this place conſiſting then of about a hundred ſorry barracks, diſpoſed with no great regularity, a great wooden warehouſe, and two or three houſes, which would be eſteemed common and ordinary buildings in an *European* village. There is, however, reaſon to believe that *New Orleans* may in after times become a great and opulent city, if we conſider the advantages of its ſituation, thirty leagues from the ſea, which, according to ſome authors, requires no more than a courſe of twenty four hours, on a noble river, in a moſt fertile country, under a moſt delightful and wholeſome climate, inhabited by people extremely induſtrious, within fifteen days ſail of *Mexico* by ſea, and ſtill nearer the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* iſlands in the *Weſt Indies*; all which are much more than ſufficient to enſure the future wealth, power, and proſperity of this city.

As the face of this metropolis has been much changed ſince the time in which the preceding deſcription was made, it has been thought proper to ſubjoin the following from much later memoirs.

New Orleans in its more modern ſtate.

At firſt *New Orleans* conſiſted of a few inconſiderable houſes, ſcattered up and down, without any order or regularity, which had been built by ſome travellers, come from the country of the *Ilinois*. When a reſolution therefore was taken by the commandant in *Louiſiana* in 1720, to build a capital, M. *de la Tour* an engineer was ſent, who made choice of this as a proper place, and began with clearing the adjacent lands of the woods, and afterwards, traced the ſtreets and quarters which were to compoſe the new city, advertiſing the inhabitants that, upon preſenting a petition to the council, proper ſpaces ſhould be allotted them for building. Each lot was ten fathoms in front, by twenty in depth; and, as each quarter contained a ſquare of fifty fathoms, ſhould contain twelve lots, whereof the two in the center ſhould have ten fathoms, in front, by twenty five in depth. It was ordered that ſuch as ſhould obtain lots, ſhould be obliged to incloſe them within paliſades, leaving quite round a void ſpace of three feet in breadth at leaſt, below which ſhould be dug a ditch for draining off the waters in the ſeaſon of the river's inundation. Beſides theſe leſſer drains, or defences, againſt the overflowings of the *Miſſiſſipi*, a dike, or bank, of earth, 16 leagues in length, was raiſed on both ſides the river, from *Engliſhman's creek* to 10 leagues above the city, and behind that a ditch in the ſame manner. The buildings were at firſt only of wood, being properly ſo many cabins; but ſince brickworks have been erected, they are all of thoſe materials, ſo that the governor's houſe, the church, the barracks, and almoſt all the houſes are of brick, or half brick and half wood.

Its ſituation and more remarkable edifices.

New Orleans ſtands on the Eaſt bank of the *Miſſiſſipi*, in 29 deg. 57 min. North latitude; and is ſaid to be placed in a ſituation much inferior to many others which might have been choſen, on account of its vicinity to the *Mobile*, the chief ſettlement of the colony in its beginnings. Veſſels of a thouſand tons may ride here with their ſides cloſe to the banks at low water. It is only a league hence to the Creek of *St John*, where perſons paſſing through the Lake of *St Louis* embark for the *Mobile*. The place of arms is an open ſquare towards the river, in the bottom of which ſtands the parochial church, dedicated to *St Louis*, and ſerved by the Capuchins. On the left of the church is the houſe of thoſe monks; on the right is the priſon and guard-room; and the two ſides of the ſquare are taken up with barracks for the troops. All the ſtreets are ſtrait, and croſs each other at right angles, dividing the city into forty three iſlands, eleven in length along the river ſide, and four in depth. The intendant's houſe is behind the barracks, that of the governor's ſtands adjacent to the place of arms. The new convent of the *Urſuline* Nuns is at the extremity of the city towards the right, at the corner of *Rue de Chartres*, next the place of arms.

In this city is the council, held commonly on *Thurſdays* and *Fridays*. It is compoſed of ſix counſellors, a procurator or attorney for the king, and an intendant, who acts alſo in quality of commiſſary, ordonnateur, or director of the works; there are beſides a regiſter and ſecretary to the council. Cauſes are tried here without advocates, or attorneys, and therefore without any charge, every man being his own council and ſollicitor.

The market ſtands on the bank on the left, and a little above the intendant's, and oppoſite

PLAN OF
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as they have been
by Mr de la To
in the Year 172
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A. House of the Intendant
B. convent of the Capuchin Fr
C. The Jaile
D. Guard Room
E. Hospital and Convent of the
F. Guard House of the Inhabita
G. Place where the Windmill Sta
British Fathom
PONTCHARTRAIN
NEW ORLEANS
LAKE BORGNE
Low and Marshy Meadows
Shallow water cover'd
with many Small Islands
which are but very little
Known
Isles de la Chandeleur
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MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPI
OF MEXICO
South West Pass
South Pass or Pass a Serigny
Isle de Lodo or Mud Cape
EAST PASS
the Bar
Fort
THE EAST MOUTH
OF THE
MISSISSIPI,
with the PLAN
OF FORT LA BALISE
which defends
the Entrance and Channel
of that River

PLAN OF NEW ORLEANS THE CAPITAL OF *LOUISIANA;*

with the Disposition of its Quarters and Canals *as they have been traced* by Mr de la Tour *in the Year 1720.*

REFERENCES

A House of the Intendant
B Convent of the Capuchin Fryars
C The Jails
D Guard Room
E Hospital and Convent of the Ursulines
F Guard House of the Inhabitants
G Place where the Windmill Stood

British Fathoms

RIVER St. LOUIS

Called by the Natives

MISSISSIPI and *MESHASSEPI*

Anchorage for Ships

Anchorage for Boats & Pirogues

Rue de Bourbon

Rue de Chartres

Rue de Toulouse

Rue St. Louis

Rue de Conty

Rue de Burgundy

Rue de Royale

Rue de Levee

Rue de Hospital

Rue de Ursulines

Rue de Barracks

Rue de Orleans

Rue de Dauphine

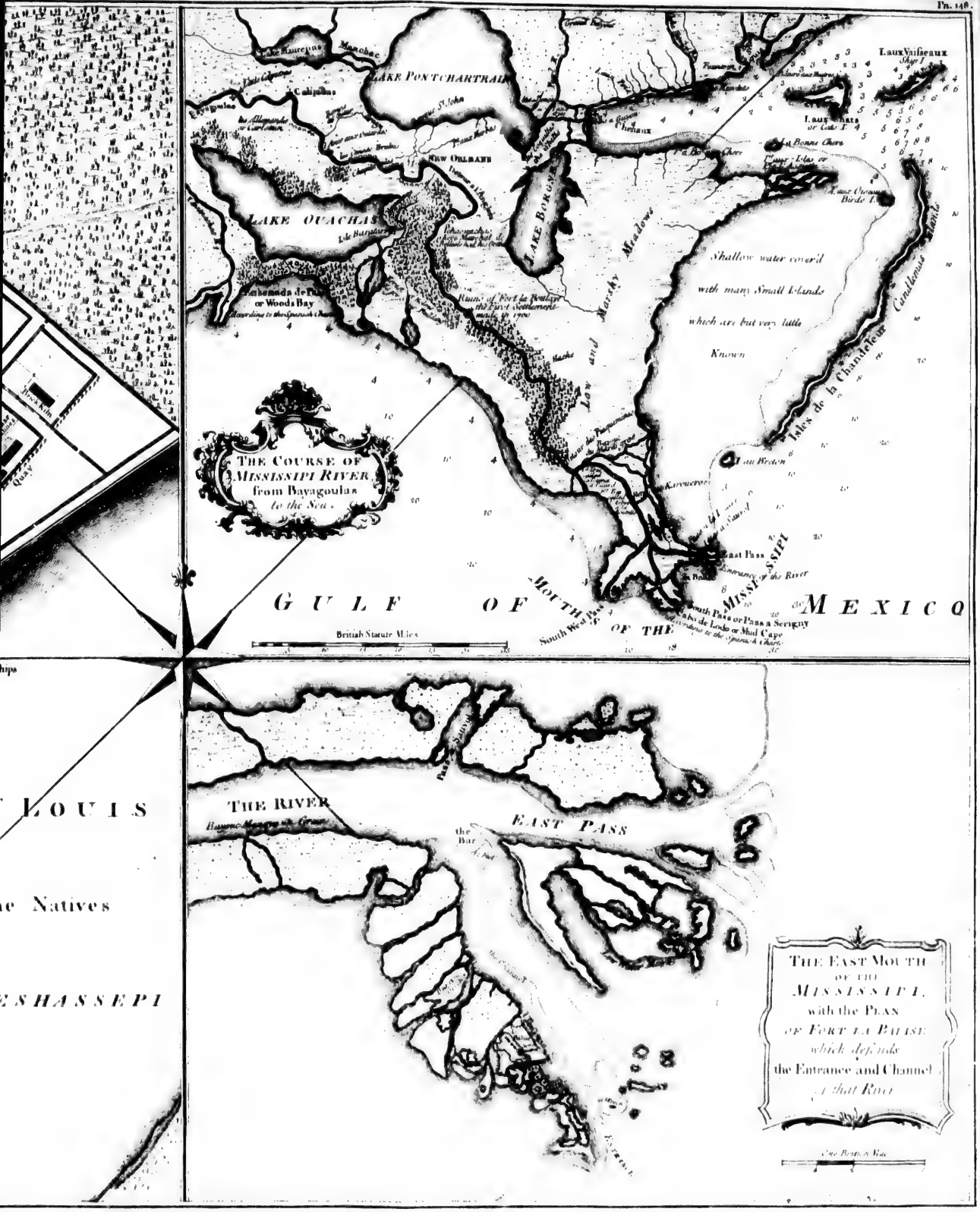
Rue de Bienville

Rue de Iberville

Rue de Maine

Rue de Arsenal

Rue de Charters



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oppoſite to that ſide of the ſquare or place of arms, where the magazines are, is the anchoring place, where the ſhips lie with their ſides cloſe to the bank. The powder magazine is at ſome diſtance from the city, for fear of accidents. In a word, nothing is wanting to this capital, excepting fortifications. In other reſpects, there are a number of fine brick buildings, and many houſes from four to five ſtories.

The banks of the river, for ſixteen leagues on both ſides, are covered with plantations not far from each other, each inhabitant raiſing a dike to ſecure his own dwelling from the inundation, which happens, as in *Egypt*, regularly every year in the ſpring, when ſuch ſhips as happen to be at *New Orleans* take care to ſet ſail, for fear of being prevented by the vaſt quantity of trees that the river carries along with it, which would break the ſtrongeſt cables.

State of *New Orleans* in 1722.

New Orleans, in 1720, made a very contemptible figure, being only, as *Charlevoix* tells us, an encampment of two hundred people on the banks of a great river, ſent to build a city, and thinking of nothing farther than barely how to ſcreen themſelves from the inclemency of the weather, till a plan ſhould be ſettled, by which they would be regulated in building their houſes.

Advantageous ſituation of *New Orleans*.

There is nothing very remarkable in the neighbourhood of *New Orleans*: With reſpect to the advantages or diſadvantages of the ſituation of that capital, opinions are divided. They who maintain the former, alledge the conveniency of its communication with the ſea, by means of a ſmall river, ſome time ſince diſcovered, about a league from the place towards the North Eaſt, called *le Bayouc de St Jean*, or *St John's creek*. This way, ſay they, a very ſafe trade may be eaſily carried on between the metropolis and the *Mobile*, *Biloxi*, and the other *French* ports ſituated along the ſea. They moreover obſerve that the river makes a great circuit below the city, called the *Engliſhman's creek*, which, by retarding the progreſs of veſſels in their way to *New Orleans*, ſecures it effectually from being ſurpriſed by an enemy.

Objections.

The gentlemen, who are of another opinion, alledge that theſe reaſons are rather ſpecious than ſolid. For, in the firſt place, ſay they, thoſe who argue in this manner admit that the river is only capable of ſmall veſſels. Now on this ſuppoſition, they aſk, what need has the capital, if ever ſo little fortified, need to fear a ſurpriſe, ſince it is thus granted that it can be attacked only with ſmall craft, utterly incapable of heavy ordnance? However, ſay the ſame opponents, let the city be placed where it will, the mouth of the river is, at all events, to be ſecured with a fort and good batteries, which would, at leaſt, ſerve to give timely notice to the capital to prepare for the reception of the enemy. Secondly, they aſk where lie the great advantages of a communication which can only be kept open by means of ſhallops, and with ports which, in caſe of an attack, could not be defended, and whence but feeble aſſiſtance, of no manner of utility, could be drawn in return. To theſe objections they add, that when a veſſel is going up through *Engliſhman's creek*, it ſtands in need of a change of wind almoſt every minute, which is enough to detain it whole weeks in a paſſage of no more than ſeven or eight leagues.

Peninſula formed by the *Miſſiſippi*.

A little below *New Orleans* the land begins to be very low, on both ſides the river, croſs the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer the ſea. This point of land is, to all appearance, of no long date; for upon digging ever ſo little below the ſurface, you come to the water. Beſides, the number of beaches, or breakers, and iſlets formed within the laſt half century at all the ſeveral mouths of the river, leaves no room to doubt that this peninſula has been entirely formed in the ſame manner. And it is very certain that when M. *de la Salle* ſailed down the *Miſſiſippi* to the ſea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at preſent.

Iſlands formed by aggregates of trees.

The nearer you approach to the ſea, the truth of what is here ſaid becomes more viſible. The bars which croſs the moſt part of thoſe ſmall channels, which the river has opened for itſelf, have been multiplied only by means of the trees carried down by the current, one of which, ſtopped by its roots or branches, in places of ſhallow water, will retain a thouſand more in the ſame place. *Charlevoix* ſays he has ſeen gatherings of trees, formed in this manner, two hundred leagues from this capital, one of which, alone, would have filled all the timber and fuel yards in *Paris*. As no human force is, in this caſe, able to remove them, the mud carried down by the river ſerves to bind and cement them together, till, by degrees, it entirely covers them. Every inundation leaves a new layer, or bed, and, after ten years time, canes

and ſhrubs begin to grow a-top of them, thus forming points and iſlands, which frequently oblige the river to ſhift its bed, and take a new courſe.

Land ungranted. Between *New Orleans* and the ſea you find no grants, on account of the ſmall breadth of land; ſo that all you ſee in this route is only a few private habitations, with public warehouſes for ſupplying the large grants with neceſſaries.

Chawachas Indians. Behind one of theſe habitations, and immediately below the *Engliſhman's creek*, were formerly ſettled the *Chawachas*, the ruins of whoſe village are ſtill to be ſeen. The chief's cabin was not unlike the cottage of ſome *French* peaſant, excepting only that it had no windows. It was built of branches of trees, the void places between which were filled with the leaves of the latanier. The roof was conſtructed in the ſame manner; this chief is abſolute, like all thoſe of *Florida*; he hunts only for his pleaſure, his ſubjects being obliged to ſupply him with game out of what they take for themſelves. The village now ſtands on the other ſide of the river, and a league lower down, whither the *Indians* have tranſported even the very bones of their dead.

Paſſes of the *Miſſiſipi.* A little below their new abode the coaſt is much higher than any where elſe this way; and here, according to *Charlevoix*'s opinion, is the beſt place for building the capital, which would then be but twenty leagues from the ſea; ſo, that with a moderate breeze of wind at South Eaſt, a ſhip might eaſily reach it in fifteen hours. Lower is an other winding of the river, called *le detour aux Piakimines*, or *Piakimine tree Creek*. Soon after great care muſt be taken in navigating amidſt the Channels of the *Miſſiſipi*, for fear of falling into a wrong channel, in which caſe it is paſt all poſſibility of ever extricating the veſſel. Theſe channels, for the moſt part, are but ſmall ſtreams, ſome of which are only ſeparated by means of the bottom, which riſes in ridges above the ſurface of the water, occaſioned by the choaking up of its courſe with mud and trees, the bar of the *Miſſiſipi* multiplying thoſe channels by ſtopping the vent of the water, and ſo forcing it to break out into new openings, through the ſofteſt and neweſt-formed earth near it; and it might happen in time, if great care be not taken to prevent it, that all the paſſes ſhould become alike impracticable, at leaſt for ſhips.

Iſland of *Thoulouſe.* Oppoſite to the bar is *the Iſland of Thoulouſe*, formerly called *Iſle de la Baliſe*, (Iſland of the ſea-mark) from a ſea-mark, ſome time ſince erected here for the conveniency of ſhipping. This iſland is about half a league round, including another iſland ſeparated from it by means of a channel always wet. It is every where very low land, except in one place, which is never covered with the inundation, and comprehends ſufficient room to contain the fort and magazine. Here ſhips may unload, when otherwiſe unable to get over the bar. The bottom is hard, clayey ground, with five or ſix ſmall ſprings iſſuing from it, which leave a very fine kind of ſalt on the ſurface. When the river is at the loweſt, or during the three hotteſt months, the water is ſalt round this iſland; but in the time of inundation perfectly freſh, and retains this quality a full league out at ſea; at other times it is brackiſh after paſſing the bar. Hence what we are told of the *Miſſiſipi*'s preſerving its waters unmixed with the ſea, for twenty leagues, is a meer fable.

Waters of the *Miſſiſipi.*

Principal channel. The following is the ſtate of the principal channel of the *Miſſiſipi*, as examined by the Pilot *Kerlazio* in 1722. This opening runs North Weſt and South Eaſt for the ſpace of three hundred fathoms, it is 250 broad, aſcending from the ſea to the iſland of *Thoulouſe*, oppoſite to which are three ſmall iſlands, which, though conſiderably elevated above the level of the water, had no herbage. All this way the depth of the channel in the middle is eighteen feet, on a bottom of ſoft mud: but ſuch as are not acquainted muſt always have the lead in their hand. Aſcending from hence four hundred fathoms more, in the ſame direction North Weſt, there is ſtill fifteen feet water, and the ſame bottom, with good anchorage all the way, and ſheltered from all winds, except the South and South Eaſt, which might cauſe the driving of the ſhips from their anchors when it blows a ſtorm; but without danger, ſince they muſt ſtrike on the bar, which is ſoft mud. Afterwards the courſe is North Weſt, one quarter North Eaſt, for five hundred fathoms. The river at the bar is 250 fathoms broad between low lands covered with buſhes, and has twelve feet depth; and at half low water great caution muſt be taken, becauſe of banks in the way.

Eaſtern channel. In ſailing through the Eaſtern channel, which is 250 fathoms broad, and from 4 to 15 deep, they ſteer full Weſt for a league, and then all of a ſudden find no bottom. Then entering the great channel, after leaving the bar, they ſail ſtill North Weſt for the ſpace of three

three hundred fathoms, conſtantly in forty five feet water. On the left is what the *French* call the *Paſſe à Sauvole*, by which ſhallops may go to *Biloxi*, ſteering their courſe Northwards. This channel takes its name from an officer, left by M. *Iberville* as commandant in the colony, when he returned to *France*. *Paſſe à Sauvole.*

Then turning Weſtward, one quarter North Weſt, for fifty fathoms, and on the left hand, is a bay, at the end of which are three channels, one on the South Eaſt, another on the South, and a third on the Weſt South Weſt quarter. This bay has no more than ten fathoms in breadth, and one in diameter; and all theſe channels have very little water. Following the ſame courſe, fifty fathoms further, lies another bay, which is twenty paces in diameter, and fifty in depth within land. It contains two ſmall channels, though they are hardly reckoned in that number, ſince a canoe of bark can ſcarce make its way through them. Bays.

From hence, you ſteer Weſtward five hundred fathoms, to the *Paſſe à Loutre*, or *Otter Channel*. This is on the right hand, and runs towards the South Eaſt. It is five hundred fathoms broad, but is only capable of receiving pirogues. Afterwards you ſail South Weſt twenty fathoms, and then ſtanding Weſtward three hundred, after that Weſt one quarter North Weſt, for a hundred more; again as much Weſt North Weſt, then North Weſt eight hundred, to the *Paſſe au Sud*, or *the Southern Paſs*, two hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth, which has nine fathoms water at its entry into the *Miſſiſſipi*, and only two feet where it falls into the ſea. Two hundred and fifty fathoms farther, is the *Paſſe au Sud Oueſt*, or South Weſt paſs, of the ſame breadth nearly, and never leſs than from ſeven to eight feet water. *Otter* channel

Near the entrance of the river, and on the Eaſt of the Southern paſſage, are the iſlands called *Iſles de Chandeleur*, on which are found vaſt quantities of eggs of all manner of ſea fowl. It is believed that between theſe iſlands and the land there is a paſſage for ſhips of the greateſt burthen, and that it would be no difficult matter to make an excellent port here. The paſſage is bounded on the left by a ſeries of ſmall lakes, ſituated towards the extremity of that of the *Chetimachas*, and on the right, as above, by the *Iſles de Chandeleur*, or *Candlemas Iſlands*. Large barks may go up as high as the lake of the *Chetimachas*, where they may freely cut fine oaks, with which all this coaſt is covered. Near this gut the lands begin to be leſs marſhy, though they are drowned four months in the year. All along the banks of the river thus far you ſee nothing but ſand and canes. It is alſo remarkable that, for the ſpace of eleven leagues up the river, the banks are ſo bare and naked as to produce but two trees, both on the Eaſt ſide, and at a league diſtance from each other: The one is called *l'arbre à bouteille*, or *the bottle tree*, from a bottle hung on it when firſt diſcovered by the *French*, and incloſing a letter from ſome perſon informing his fellow travellers which way he had gone. The ſecond is called *la Potence à Picard*, or *Picard's gallows*, and owes this ill omened appellation to a ſaying of one *Picard*, who, paſſing by this tree in a pirogue, ſaid, if ever it were his fortune to be hanged, he wiſhed it might be either on this tree, or at leaſt on ſuch another. Here too the banks begin to be covered with lofty trees, and thoſe in ſuch numbers, and ſo thick, as to becalm the ſhips that paſs, ſo that they are often obliged to warp their way with the windlaſs from point to point; whence it ſometimes happens that they take up two months time to make the nineteen leagues hence to the capital. Were it not for this difficulty, ſhips might with eaſe ſail up the *Miſſiſſipi* above five hundred leagues; and this might be removed by clearing its banks of the wood. *Chandeleur* iſlands. Two remarkable trees.

Some have been of opinion that the beſt way would be to ſhut up all the paſſes except the principal one, by conveying the trees which are continually floating from above into the other channels. The advantage ariſing from this improvement would, in the firſt place, be this; that, by rendering the river inacceſſible even to ſmall veſſels and canoes themſelves, the colony would be almoſt effectually ſecured from any ſurpriſe. The ſecond is, that all the waters of the *Miſſiſſipi*, having been thus conveyed into one and the only remaining channel, would naturally, and of themſelves, by degrees, hollow its bed, and poſſibly, in time, remove the bar itſelf. What has actually happened in regard to the two *Pointes Coupées*, already taken notice of, renders this notion far from being unreaſonable. All that would then remain to be done, would be to keep the channel clear of any embarraſſments from floating trees; a matter of no inſurmountable difficulty. Reduction of the *Miſſiſſipi*.

As to the breadth of the river between the paſſes, that is, for four leagues diſtance from the iſland of the *Thoulouſe* to the South Weſt paſs, it never exceeds fifty fathoms. Different breadth of the *Miſſiſſipi*.

But

But just above this pass the *Missisipi* recovers insensibly, and by slow degrees, its ordinary breadth, which is never under a mile, and seldom above two miles. Its depth increases in like manner, from the bar upwards, contrary to what is in other rivers, which generally have their greatest depth nearest the sea.

Plantation distant from the river eligible.

It appears that the plantations would be better placed, at least a quarter, if not half a league from the banks, than close by the river, from the inconveniences of living on land which is always moist, and where with ever so little digging you come presently to water, and consequently can have neither cellar nor vault. Perhaps too it might be no small benefit to remove farther off, and leave the intermediate grounds and settlements free to the inundations, which might possibly contribute much to their improvement. The mud, which remains after the waters are fallen, renews and fattens the soil, part of which might be employed in pasture, and on the other might be sown rice, pulse, and, in general, such plants as prosper best in fat, moist lands. The banks of the *Missisipi* might be made to produce, from its gardens, meadow and pasture ground, not only a stock of provisions sufficient to support the inhabitants, but might furnish articles in commerce proper for the islands and neighbouring colonies. Those who have sailed down this river, and gone on shore twice or three times every day, say that almost every where at the smallest distance from the banks are rising grounds, where houses and other buildings may be erected on solid and durable foundations, and where wheat would grow very well, provided the timber was felled, and by that means the grounds left open to the salutary effects of the free circulation of the air.

Navigation of the *Missisipi*.

As to the navigation of the river, this will always continue to be attended with difficulty in its ascension, on account of the strength of the current, which even obliges persons to be very careful when descending, as it often carries them upon the points which project into the river, and upon the breakers or beaches. Hence, to navigate with safety, they will be under the necessity of using such vessels as are proper for sailing and rowing at the same time. Besides, as it is impossible to pursue their way in the night, when dark weather, these voyages must consequently be always very tedious and expensive, at least till such time as the banks of the river become better and more closely peopled through its whole course, that is, from the river *Ilinois* to the sea.

Coast of *Louisiana*.

The coast of *Louisiana* is bounded, according to the *French* writers, on the West by *St Bernard's* Bay, where M. *de la Salle* landed, imagining it to be the mouth of the *Missisipi*. Into this Bay falls a small river, with several others, as into *Ascension* Bay; the inhabitants of the colony scarce ever visit this coast. Towards the East the coast

Rio perdido.

is, by the same writers, said to be bounded by *Rio Perdido*, corruptly termed, by the *French*, *Riviere aux Perdrix*, or *Partridge River*. The *Spaniards* call it *Rio Perdido*, or, *the River which loses itself*, from its running under ground, and afterwards emerging, and continuing its course till it falls into the sea, a small distance Eastward from the *Mobile*, where the *French* of this colony had their first settlement. The coast,

Mobile French settlement.

Isles *Thoulouse* and *aux Vaisseaux*.

from the Island of *Thoulouse* to the *Isle aux Vaisseaux*, opposite to *Biloxi*, is so very flat, that merchants dare not approach nearer than four, and barks than two leagues of the shore; and even these latter must keep at a greater distance when the wind is North or North West, or else they will run aground, as it sometimes happens. The road lies along the shore of the Island *aux Vaisseaux*, extending a short league from East to West, and very narrow.

Isle Dauphine described.

East from this island is *Isle Dauphine*, formerly *Massacre Island*, so called from the great quantity of human bones found in it on its first discovery, where the *French* had their first settlement in these parts. Its length from East to West is about 17 leagues, and its breadth from North to South one large league. It is constantly exposed to the burning heat of the sun, and the soil so barren as to be scarce productive of sallads and other greens. The soil consists of little more than sand, which near the sea is so white and glittering, that when the rays of the sun fall directly upon it, the eye cannot behold it without great pain; and some have been obliged to leave it on account of this inconvenience, which endangered their sight. Though this island be entirely surrounded by the sea, it has this very great advantage, that by digging in the sand, at a very small distance from the shore, you meet with the greatest plenty of the finest fresh water. The anchoring place is at two leagues distance from the island, because of the sand banks. The seas about it abound with store of excellent fish. With respect to trees, the most common are, the pine and the firr, with some shrubs, and great quantities of a plant, which bears a fruit called *Pommes de raquette*, [Racket Apples] which is a sovereign remedy

medy againſt the dyſentery and bloody flux. Sun-burns are alſo extremely frequent in this iſland. Here was anciently a commodious harbour, but deſtroyed by having its entry choaked with ſand in two hour's time by a hurricane.

To the Weſtward of *Iſle aux Vaiſſeaux* lie *l'Iſle de Chats*, or *Cat-Iſland*, otherwiſe *Bienville Iſland*, *iſle de la Chandeleur*, or *Candlemaſs Iſlands*, and to the Eaſt are *l'Iſle à Corne*, or *Horned Iſland*, and the *Iſle Dauphiné*. *Iſle de Chats* and a *Corne*.

On the continent oppoſite to the *Iſle aux Vaiſſeaux* are the *Old* and *New Biloxi*, two places remarkable for their having been ſucceſſively the chief ſettlements of the *French* after their abandoning the *Iſle Dauphine*, and ſo called from an *Indian* nation anciently reſiding in this place, and ſince removed higher up the country towards the North Weſt, on the banks of a little river called *la riviére de Perles*, or *Pearl river*, from the great quantity of pearls, of an ordinary quality, found in it. The ſituation of the *New Biloxi* is ſo bad that a worſe could not have been found, both an account of the difficulty of its being approached by the ſhipping, for reaſons already mentioned, and becauſe the road has two great inconveniencies, *viz.* the extreme badneſs of the anchorage, and the ſwarms of worms which deſtroy the ſhipping, its ſole uſe being to ſhelter ſhips from the violence of hurricanes in caſe of their ſtanding in for the mouths of the *Miſſiſſipi* when they want watering, it being dangerous, on account of the flatneſs of the coaſt, to approach it otherwiſe. It is no better in reſpect of its ſituation with regard to the land; the ſoil conſiſts only of ſand, and produces nothing but pines and cedars, and the caſſine, otherwiſe called the *apalachine* plant, which ſprings up every where in great abundance. The heats are here prodigious in the ſummers, eſpecially after the ſun has ſet the ſands on fire, if I may be permitted ſo to ſpeak. And we are aſſured that were it not for the ſea breezes, which ariſe regularly every day between nine and ten in the morning, this part would be abſolutely uninhabitable. *New Biloxi* ſtands in thirty degrees fifteen minutes North latitude, as the mouth of the *Miſſiſſipi* does in twenty nine. The cold here in *February* is pretty ſharp, when the wind comes from the North or North Weſt, but laſts no long time, and is even ſometimes followed with conſiderable heats, ſtorms, and thunder, ſo that in the morning you are in the winter, and in the afternoon in the ſummer ſeaſons, with intervals of ſpring and autumn. The breeze comes regularly always from the Eaſt, and when it proceeds from the North it is only the reflexion of the wind, and is leſs refreſhing, but always welcome, as without wind here is no breathing at all. *Biloxi* Old and New. Pearl river. New *Biloxi* badly ſituated. Caſſine plant. Temperature and latitude.

Coaſting along this ſhore, the proſpect is always agreeable to the eye, but coming near it the ſcene is quite changed; the whole is a ſandy bottom as at *Biloxi*, and nothing but gloomy woods are to be found. Sandy country.

Thirteen or fourteen leagues Eaſtward from *Biloxi* is the *Mobile*, on *Maubile*, called by the *Natives* and *Engliſh Chicaſaw river* running from North to South, one of the principal rivers of *Louiſiana*, on account of the *French* ſettlements on it, and falling into the ſea oppoſite to *Iſle Dauphine*. This river takes its riſe in 3 ſtreams at the foot of a chain of mountains in the country of the *Chicaſaws*, and after a courſe of a hundred and thirty, or, as others ſay, three hundred leagues falls into a bay of the ſame name, at the diſtance of four ſcore leagues by ſea from that of the *Miſſiſſipi*, at the Weſtern entrance of the river is ſituated *le Fort Conté de la Mobile*, built of brick with four baſtions, beſides half moons, a good ditch, cover'd ways and glacis, in the method of *Vauban*; with a magazine and cazerns for the ſoldiers of the garriſon, which is always very numerous. Twelve leagues to the North on the ſame ſide of the river. Is the *French Fort* called *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, built in 1702, and deſerted in 1711. The bed of the *Mobile* is very narrow, and winding, and at the ſame time very rapid, but is navigable only for piragues when the waters are low. The *French* fort on this river was for a long time the chief ſettlement of the whole colony. It is moſt valued on account of its ſerving to keep in awe the *Chactaws*, a numerous nation, forming a good barrier to the *French* againſt the *Chicaſaws*, and other *Indian* nations, in the province of *Carolina*. Some ſay that a ſtone quarry has been diſcovered near this place, which may be made of great ſervice. The ſoil near this river is ſaid to be extremely barren, but the interiour parts, and ſuch as are at a greater diſtance from it, are tolerably fertile. A hundred and forty leagues higher is the Fort of *Tombechê*, built in 1735, to ſerve as a communication in the war with the *Chicaſaw*. *Tombechê* is a kind of mountain, conſiſting of a white, ſoft ſtone, and is the canton which moſt abounds in cedars of the whole province; the earth here is alſo very proper for potters work. About ſixty leagues from the mouth of the *Mobile* it receives on the left the waters of the river *Alibamous*, on which, at the diſtance of ſixty leagues from its opening,

in the Country of the *Creek Indians* in *South Carolina* the *French* have built *Fort Toulouſe*. This canton is ſaid to be one of the fineſt countries in the whole world.

The ſoil on the coaſt, from *Rio Perdido* as far as St *Louis Bay*, is a very fine ſand, as white as ſnow, and produces pines, cedars, and ſome green oaks. The river *Mobile*, whoſe bed is of a fine ſand is far from being equal in plenty of fiſh to the river *Miſſiſſipi*. The banks from its ſource to the ſea are equally unfertile, being nothing but gravel, with a ſmall mixture of earth; and, though not abſolutely barren, its productions differ extremely from that of ſuch lands as lie contiguous to the *great river*. This country is in ſome parts mountainous, though it is not certainly known whether they have any quarries of ſtone fit for building. The lands are ſomewhat better about the river of *Alibamous*.

An unfertile ſoil.

Communicative of barrenneſs to women.

The lands and water of the *Mobile* are extremely unfertile, not only in plants and fiſhes, but, as the quality of both theſe contributes much to the decreaſe of animals, the ſame effect happens with reſpect to the Inhabitants, many of the women having become barren on their ſettling in theſe parts; as, on the contrary, they have recovered on removing to the banks of the *Miſſiſſipi*. The interior parts of this country muſt be exempted from this quality common to many parts near the ſea.

NATURAL HISTORY of LOUISIANA.

Introduction.

NO ſtudy can be more pleaſing than that of Natural Hiſtory, every advance therein diſpoſes the mind to adore the Almighty providence, whoſe power, the more immediately it is examined, appears ſtill more wonderful and beneficent: every new diſcovery is a freſh gratification to the curious inquirer, and its uſes are manifeſt both in commerce and medicine. *Louiſiana*, it muſt be confeſſed, affords a large field for the purſuit of this ſcience, which has been the object of our careful attention, taking *du Pratz*, for our principal guide baiting with him at the moſt remarkable places, though without ſtaying too long at one ſtage, or waſting the time in needleſs excurſions, or too circumſtantial deſcriptions.

Beautiful country.

The inland country of *Louiſiana* affords as great a variety of beautiful landſkips, as the imagination can form; the fields are diverſified with the ſweeteſt flowers, and the ſlopes conveniently covered with woods, where the beaſts find a ſure ſhelter from the dews which fall here very heavily.

Herds of beeves.

As you advance the country becomes pleaſanter and more fertile. Game abounds on every hand, and it is not uncommon to meet with five or ſix hundred beeves feeding in a herd. When you fire upon one, the reſt run away; but if the creature at whom the hunter aimed, is not diſabled, he turns with infinite fury upon his aſſailant.

Deer, roe-bucks.

Deer are every where ſeen in numbers, and large roe-bucks, which ſometimes march under the direction of a white one of their own ſpecies, whom they all ſeem to reſpect, treading exactly in his ſteps, and none preſuming to advance before him.

Natural obſervation. Singing birds.

In the woods are many ſorts of ſong-birds, that delight the ear, nor is their concert diſturbed by the hawk, or any other bird of prey. In travelling, if a man chances to be neceſſitated to pitch his tent near a large lake or river, he is not to expect much reſt; for the ſcreaming of the flamingos, the cranes, herons, wild geeſe, ducks, and

Water-fowl.

other water fowls are ſure to keep him waking.

Mines and minerals.

Here are mines of gold, ſilver, copper and lead, with good coals, and water near at hand to render the working them cheap. In ſome places they find rocks of hard cryſtal, marble, a ſubſtance reſembling porphyry, ſalt, ſalt-petre, and ſometimes ſtone fit for building. But theſe laſt are in many parts ſo ſcarce as not to be found in a ſpace of 100 leagues.

Grain and pulſe.

European grains and pulſe thrive here very well. They have alſo various ſorts of maiz, and what we call *Turkey* corn, which is natural to this country, ſhoots up a ſtalk 7 or 8 feet high, with 6 or 7 beards, each perhaps 2 inches in diameter, and containing 6 or 700 grains. This grain flouriſhes beſt in a light, looſe ſoil, is good nouriſhment

nouriſhment both for men and beaſts, and eſpecially fattening to fowl. They have beans of different colours, as red, black, &c. called the forty days bean, as it runs up in that time, and is good food, and the apalachene bean, which is delicate eating, but rather inſipid, if not well dreſſed. The latter was either brought from *Guinea*, or from the *Engliſh* at *Carolina*. The ſtalk creeps the length of 4 or 5 feet on the ground, and the leaf reſembles that of ivy.

Their pompions are of two ſorts, one of which is round, and but little regarded; the other has a firm pulp with few ſeeds: and being cut in form of a pear, or of any other fruit, is laid by to keep in jarrs, covered with ſugar, of which it requires but little, being naturally ſweet and pleaſant; it is alſo uſed to give a reliſh to fricaſſees, ſoups, and ſauces. Melons of every ſort are found in *Louiſiana*, but all much better than thoſe of *Europe* of the ſame ſpecies. The water melon is here particularly fine, tranſcending that of *Africa*, and is perhaps the moſt delicious in the world. It ſometimes weighs 30lb. is very light and refreſhing, melts in the mouth like ſnow, and may be given without any danger to the ſick. The ſeed is flat and oval, ſometimes black, ſometimes red; but the former produces the beſt fruit, if ſown in a light ſoil, which is the moſt proper, otherwiſe it degenerates, and the melon it produces, contains a reddiſh kind of ſeed. They have alſo fine potatoes, from which the *French* diſtil a ſtrong ſpirit, ſo that they afford both meat and drink.

Pompion. Melons. Potatoes.

Vines are here ſo plenty that a man cannot go 100 yards from the coaſt for 500 leagues to the North, without meeting with a vine circling round a tree; but ſo ſhaded from the heat of the ſun that the grapes ſeldom attain any degree of ripeneſs. But with proper management our author thinks good wine might be made of them; and he takes notice of a vine here bearing two crops of fruit within the ſeaſon. Among them he thinks he found the currant, the Burgundy, and the Muſcadillo grape. Here is a ſort of medlar, called by the *French* Placminier, or Piacminier, the flower of which is white; compoſed of 5 petals. The fruit is rather ſweeter and more delicate than the medlar, which it otherwiſe reſembles, being however as large as an hen's egg. The natives make it up in cakes, a foot and half long, a foot broad, and an inch high, carefully ſeparating from them the ſkin and ſeed, and dry them in the ſun or with a gentle heat, the former is the better way of preparation, as it preſerves the flavour. The *French* buy this cake, which is good againſt the dyſentery and gripes after a proper cathartic. But in this caſe it muſt be taken not at random, but medicinally, being of an aſtringent nature, and the fruit of which it is made ſhould be gathered ripe.

Vines. A ſort of medlar made into bread,

Here is a pleaſant violet plum, which in a garden might be made tributary to the table's elegance; and another of a bright cherry colour, ſmall, but too ſour to be eaten. It is common to meet with a ſmall cherry, which communicates a pleaſant reliſh to brandy, and may perhaps be the ſame with what is uſed for that purpoſe in *England*, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of mazarine. The bluet is a ſhrub producing a blue, ſweet fruit, like a gooſeberry, which agrees well with brandy, and is ſaid to have ſome good phyſical qualities.

Plum. Cherries. *Bluet* ſhrub.

The black mulberry is not found in *Louiſiana*, but they have the red, and two ſorts of white, one of which is very ſweet and palatable. The firſt of theſe makes good vinegar, provided it be kept in a ſhady place, and cloſe ſtopped. As the mulberry is extremely common, the manufacture of ſilk might be eaſily introduced, the leaf being the nouriſhment of the ſilk-worm.

Mulberries.

The olive here is a fine tree growing often to the height of 30 feet, yielding palatable fruit, and excellent oil. Among other kinds of walnuts, this country produces one as big as a large egg, which is pleaſant enough, but the ſhell ſo hard, that the getting at it is ſcarcely worth the pains. The natives bruiſe the nut, and then throwing it into water continue ſtirring it, till the ſkin and oil being quite ſeparated from the pulp, the two former ſwim upon the ſurface, and of the latter, which ſinks to the bottom, they make a cake. There is a ſmaller nut of this kind, ſo very bitter, that none will meddle with it but the perroquet, to whom it ſeems a moſt delicious morſel; if we can judge, by his activity and noiſe, while upon the tree. This nut is ſmaller than ours, and the ſhell is ſoft. Of the bark, which is white, and cloſe grained, the natives make a ſort of ſpade to uſe in the fields. Hazel-nuts require a leſs fertile ſoil, and therefore are not here in great plenty.

Olives. Walnuts. Smaller Sort. Hazle-nut.

The copalm is very common, and the balm which diſtils from it has an infinity of good qualities. The bark of this tree is black and hard; its timber too ſoft for any uſe; beſides, it always runs into ſplinters, ſo that there is no working of it. A ſmall quantity

Copalm.

quantity of it thrown on the fire yields a moſt charming odour, but there would be no bearing much of it without ſuffocation; its leaf is a pentagon pointed like a ſtar. The balm of this tree is a wonderful friend to human nature; the quantity of 10 or 12 drops taken in a diſh of tea is a febrifuge. It cures a green wound in two days, and is equally efficacious in all ſorts of ulcers, provided the ſore be firſt prepared by a plaiſter of bruiſed ground-ivy. It cures conſumptions, removes obſtructions, relieves the cholic, and all diſorders of the bowels, and cheers the heart.

Virtues of its balm.

Cedar red and white.

The red and white cedar, according to our author, are both incorruptible, ſo ſoft that they are eaſily wrought, and their odour, which is exquiſite, is ſufficiently ſtrong to deſtroy inſects.

Cypreſs.

The cypreſs ranks, next to the cedar in value, and is by ſome held above corruption. This is certain that neither one nor yet 2 centuries will corrupt it; as was obſerved from one found 20 feet under ground at *New Orleans*, which tho' buried 200 years, was yet not in the leaſt impaired. Out of the trunk of one of theſe trees, it is uſed to hollow a canoe of not more than an inch in thickneſs, which ſhall carry 3 or 4000 weight. The branches of the cypreſs are few, the leaves ſmall and ſlender, and wood of a beautiful reddiſh colour, ſoft, light, yielding and compact.

Laurel-tulip-tree.

The laurel-tulip, which is entirely unknown in *Europe*, grows to the height and thickneſs of a common wall-nut, the top of it is round, and ſo framed as to be impenetrable both to ſun and rain. It's leaves are pretty thick about 3 inches broad and 4 long: the upper part of a fine ſea-green, the under white. The bark is tough, and of a dark-brown; the wood ſoft, white and flexile. It takes it's name from a large white flower, that adorns it in the ſpring, and has a fine effect at a diſtance. The fallen flower is ſucceeded by a fruit reſembling the pine apple; and it's grain changes to bright red, at the firſt return of the cold ſeaſon. The parroquets, are fond of it, as it is very bitter, and ſome eſteem it a febrifuge.

Saſſafras.

Saſſafras, well known among the faculty, is a large, thick tree with a courſe, chapped bark, and a cinnamon-colour wood, which is eaſily worked and has a pleaſant ſmell, particularly when burning. But it muſt be aſſiſted by ſome other wood in its conflagration; for as ſoon as the auxiliary fuel fails, it goes out, as if water had been caſt upon it.

Maple and wax tree.

Far to the Northward the maple grows upon the high lands, and yields a ſyrup ſaid to be an excellent ſtomachic. The wax-tree muſt be eſpecially uſeful in this country where the bees are obliged to depoſit the fruits of their labours under ground, to protect them from the bears, their great enemy. At firſt ſight the bark leaf, and height of this tree will impoſe it on you for the laurel. But the leaf is leſs bright and not ſo thick.

It's fruit.

Its fruit comes in cluſters and produces a tail about 2 inches long, to which hangs a ſmall almond, incloſed in a nut covered with wax. This wax is of two ſorts, a yelloviſh white, and a green; of which the former bears more than double the price of the latter. It is gathered by throwing the nut into boiling water, whereby the wax is totally ſeparated from the ſkin, ſwims at top, and is eaſily ſkimmed off, and made into cakes for uſe. This tree is not delicate in its ſituation, it grows as well in the deep ſhade of the wood, as in open ſun-ſhine, in a dry as a warm ſoil, and is equally common in *New Orleans* as in ſome parts of *Canada*, where the weather is as cold as in *Denmark*. This wax bleaches quickly and well, and makes as ſolid and as good candles as any in *Europe*.

Cotton-tree.

The cotton tree of this climate has but little title to that name; it has a pentagonal leaf, and a fruit about as large as a nut containing its ſeed. The wood is yellow, ſolid hardiſh, and uſeful to joiners. The bark is fine and compact; that of it's root will ſtain red, and is ſovereign in cuts.

Acacia.

The inhabitants look upon the wood of the *Acacia* to be perennial. Of it they make their bows, a uſe for which it is very proper, on account of it's toughneſs; and it ſerves the *French* in houſe building.

Oaks.

The black oak takes it's name from the colour of it's bark. The wood is hard, of a deep red, and may perhaps be hereafter found uſeful in dying; this our author infers from it's communicating a red colour to ſuch rain as falls upon it. Beſides the black, they have red, white and green oaks, and the laſt has been found as good in workmanſhip as any other.

Other ſorts of trees.

You find alſo good elm, beech, elder, willow, &c. of which they make wheels, which there is no neceſſity of binding with iron in a country where is neither gravel nor ſtones, and where you may travel ſome hundred of leagues without meeting with any. We ſhould have remarked that the gardens are not deſtitute of lemons, oranges, citrons, and peaches.

The

The ayac-wood is a ſhrub with a leaf reſembling the laurel, but yielding a much leſs pleaſing ſmell; it diſtils a yellowiſh water, which the natives uſe in colouring their ſkins. It is of a glutinous quality, and might grow to ſome height, did they not take care to curb its growth by lopping. Ayac-wood.

The leaf of the machoneti, or vinegar-tree, reſembles the beech, and mixed by the natives with their tobacco for ſmoaking, as it takes off ſome of its acrimony, it has an aſtringent quality. The leaf of the apalachine taken as tea is a ſtomachic, and the natives by boiling it procure an intoxicating ſpirit, of which they are very fond. It grows generally to the height of 15 feet, has a ſmooth bark, a cloſe wood, and bears a ſeed on which black-birds like to feed. Machoneti. Apalachine.

Love-wood (*bois d'Amourette*) grows 10 or 12 feet high, and of a moderate bulk. It is fenced with ſhort, thick prickles, which are eaſily removed, and contains a pith like that of elder, whoſe leaf it alſo reſembles. This ſhrub has 2 barks, the exterior of a duſky hue, the interior of a very pale red. The bigneſs of a pea ſtripped from the latter and chewed, gives eaſe in the toothach. Love-wood.

The natives hold in high eſtimation a ſhrub called the paſſion-thorn, which is covered from the root to the branches all round with prickles ſhaped like a croſs, ſo that one muſt be cautious in touching it. *Du Pratz* knows nothing of its virtues, and here he cloſes his account of the arboriſic productions of *Louiſiana*, with obſerving that tho' he has deſcribed every thing that came to his knowledge, yet he has not ſo much of the traveller about him as to go farther. He takes notice however, in this chapt. of a kind of agaric, or champignon, that grows under the wall-nut tree, particularly when fallen, which the inhabitants, who are very choice in their food, gather carefully, and having boiled in water, mix with their gruel. It is delicate, a little inſipid, but eaſily made reliſhing. Paſſion-thorn. Agaric.

There is another excreſcence called *Spaniſh beard*, found ſticking to the branches of trees near the ſides of lakes and rivers. It is of a greyiſh colour, but when dried, the outer ſkin falls off, and diſcovers a ſkain of long, black threads, as ſtrong as horſe-hair. This excreſcence may be uſed in ſtuffing quilts, couches &c. The *French* on their firſt coming found it a good ingredient in their mud for building. It is ſaid to be incorruptible, and derives its name from the reſemblance the natives found between it, and the beards of the *Spaniards*, who were the firſt *Europeans* they ſaw. *Spaniſh beard.*

Among the variety of creeping plants, which the richneſs of the ſoil renders very common, the barbed creeper is not the leaſt remarkable in that it has ſuch a liking to the copalm, or balm-tree, that it will paſs by any other to attach itſelf to this. It derives its name from being covered with an hairy excreſcence, about an inch long, hooked at the end, and no thicker than a horſe-hair. A decoction of this creeper is a certain cure for a fever, and tho' bitter, it excels quinquina in as much as it fortifies the ſtomach, whereas the latter is accuſed of having a contrary effect. Barbed creeper.

This country yields as good ſarſaparilla as any in the world, and here is a ſhrub very like it, bearing a ſmall nut, ſmooth on one ſide, and rough on the other, like the cowrie ſhells that paſs as money on the *Guinea* coaſt. Our author is ſilent as to it's properties, which he hints to be ſomething myſterious, ſaying, 'the uſe of theſe nuts 'is too well known to the women and girls of *Louiſiana*, who have recourſe to them 'oftener than they ſhould. Reader! make thine own inference. Sarſaparilla.

L'eſquine is a kind of thorny bramble, found among canes, with a ſhining, hard ſtalk and a ſpungy root. It is a famous ſudorific; and a conſtant waſhing of the head with a ſtrong decoction of it, contributes ſo much to the growth of hair, that it will bring it down to the ancle. L'eſquine.

Of canes or Reeds here are 2 ſorts. What is found in marſhy places the natives work into mats, ſieves, hats, baſkets, and various other kinds of things. The produce of the dry grounds is not ſo large, but ſo very hard that, before the coming of the *French*, the natives uſed them in cutting their victuals. At the end of a certain number of years theſe canes, having attained full maturity, produce a crop of grain, every way larger than oats, which the inhabitants carefully gather, and make into bread. The Reed then dies, and it is a good while before another ſprings up in it's place. *Canes.*

The *Plat de Bois*, the *Wooden Platter*, is highly eſteemed by the native phyſicians for it's ſudorific effects. It bears, upon a ſtrong ſtalk 16 or 17 inches high, a cinnamon coloured leaf, about 2 inches long, and one broad, with a bloſſom like broom, it's ſeed lies within a ſort of crowned calix cup. *Plat de Bois.*

Rattle-ſnake. *L'herbe à ſerpent à cornettes*, the rattle-ſnake-root, called in the language of the country *Oudla coudlogouille*, grows about 3 feet high, and bears a purple flower with 5 petals, about an inch broad, and formed like a cup. This flower, falling off when ripe, ſhews a ſort of nut, divided into 4 ſeparate apartments, each containing a ſmall black ſeed. If you ſhake this nut it ſounds exactly like a rattle-ſnake, as if nature thus wiſely gave it voice to proclaim it's virtue; it is an abſolute remedy againſt the bite of that dangerous reptile, by applying it chewed to the injured part; for in 5 or 6 hour's it entirely draws out the venom. A plaiſter of the ground-ivy of *Louiſiana* laid cloſe to the ſkull gives preſent eaſe in the headach; and our author cured a friend, in a few minutes, of a megrin, by making him ſnuff up ſalts extracted from this herb.

Ground-ivy, cure for the headach.

Achetechy. The achetchy is a very valuable plant, found generally in the ſhade of the foreſts, and growing not more than 6 inches high. The natives boil the root, and then by ſqueezing it hard obtain a beautiful red dye, which they apply variouſly.

Strawberries, excellent. In the beginning of *April* appear whole fields covered with the fineſt ſtrawberries. Hemp grows ſpontaneouſly, and the flax-ſeed that has been brought from *Europe* thrives exceedingly. The plains are covered all the ſummer with diverſity of fine flowers, of which if our author declines an account, it is becauſe he rather applied himſelf to matters that might be uſeful to ſociety, rather than to thoſe of mere curioſity. He takes notice however of one flower called the lion's mouth (*gueule de lion*) which is, he ſays, a noſegay in itſelf, on account of it's beautiful colours and durability; as it ſeldom dies in leſs than 3 or 4 months. In this country, they alſo raiſe, indigo, cotton, tobacco, hops and ſaffron.

Lion's mouth.

Wolves. The wolves of *Louiſiana* are ſeldom more than 14 inches high and every way proportioned, they are ſo tame that they come down to the habitations in ſearch of food, and retire without hurting any body. If the huntſman when he encamps at night near a river, diſcerns a wolf lurking in the environs, he may aſſure himſelf that there is a herd of cattle not far off; and the wolf ſerves as a guide to them, being rewarded with the offals. Theſe animals ſtimulated by hunger, attack the wild cattle before and behind. In the latter they ſhew ſome cunning for the creature looks about him and ſtands upon his defence. When they have brought down one beaſt they ſtrangle him, and then proceed to another; for they deſtroy as many as they can, without regard to what will ſerve their turn.

Story. It happened that 2 men, ſailing up a river in *Louiſiana*, went a ſhore at night to lie, and covered themſelves cloſely from the rain, having brought every thing on ſhore from the canoe, which they faſtened to a ſtake in the ſtrand, with thong of cow hide inſtead of rope. One of them, more careful, roſe as ſoon as he waked to look after the canoe, and when he came to the water ſaw it was gone. As they were 50 leagues from any habitation, the accident alarmed and made him very uneaſy. He rouſed his companion with the unhappy tidings, and both repaired to the beach, where ſoon after the moon ſhining out with a good degree of clearneſs, ſhewed them their little veſſel ſmoothly dancing down with the current. One of them immediately ſtripped and ſoon came up with it, nor was he intimidated from boarding it inſtantly, tho' he found a ſtranger at the helm who glared upon him with a moſt menacing aſpect, then leaped into the water, and left him clear poſſeſſion. This ſtranger was a wolf, which during their ſleep, had climbed into the veſſel in ſearch of proviſion; but finding nothing elſe made free with the cable, and then put off from ſhore, without meaning any harm.

Black wolves. Two large black wolves, of a much ſtronger ſpecies, and more carniverous than thoſe common to the country were killed here in our author's time. They were ſuppoſed to come from ſome diſtant climate, the eldeſt inhabitant never remembring to have ſeen any of them before; one of them was a female, big with young.

As we have dwelt largely on the bear, buffalo, elk, and ſome other quadrupeds in our account of *Canada*, the reader would blame us to repeat them. Wherefore we ſhall confine ourſelves generally to the notice of ſuch as have not been before mentioned.

Small tiger. Among theſe is a ſmall tiger, ſcarcely more than twenty inches high, and every way proportionable. His ſkin is of a bright bay colour, but has none of thoſe marks that render it in other countries valuable, it is very quick and active, but no way daring, for it will run from the ſight of a man, and increaſe it's ſpeed if ſhowted after. This our author affirms from his own knowledge, having one time reſcued his dog, and another time his pig, from this animal's voracious jaws. What he calls the pichou which, he ſays, is as high as the tiger, with a moſt beautiful coat, and an enemy to poultry, may be perhaps the leopard.

Pichou.

The

The foxes here think the farmer's yard beneath their notice, as they find ſufficient ſubſiſtence in the woods. Their hair is thick, ſmooth, of a deep brown colour; underneath it is long, and ſilver coloured, which has a pleaſant effect, they are vaſtly numerous among the woods of the ſmall hills, and here alſo the tiger and pichou moſt commonly inhabit, nothing but hunger bringing them down to the farms. Foxes.

The wild cat of *Louiſiana* is very different from that of *Canada*, or indeed from any other of the ſpecies, and very improperly ſo named, it having nothing of a cat about it, but its nimbleneſs. It is eaſily familiariſed to a houſe, and then it becomes larger and fatter; but its ſkin is not ſo beautiful as that of a fox. It is not above 8 or 10 inches high, ſometimes 15 long, and when tamed full of diverting tricks. This animal is ſometimes ſerved up to table, and not bad food. It lives upon fruit and vegetables, and is not fond of game; to catch which its ſhort claws were never formed by nature. Wild-cat.

The head and tail of the wood-rat are like thoſe of the common rat, only his tail has hardly any hair upon it, if you take hold of it, it winds about your finger. It is a ſlow, lazy animal, which ſcarcely any thing can put out of its common pace; but it has cunning enough on apprehenſion of danger, to counterfeit death ſo well, that the deceit was not to be diſcovered, nor will it ſtir, though you ſhould toſs it about till you are weary. It is very common, and eaſily taken. Nothing can be more defenceleſs; and though it is a violent enemy to poultry; the blood of which it ſucks, one would imagine it had no enemies among the brute creation. The down is thin, greyiſh and rough; the natives ſpin it, and makes girdles of it, which they die red. It climbs well, and ſeeks its prey in the night. The fleſh is very good food, taſting like young pig; the fat is ſaid to allay the pain of the rheumatiſm and ſciatica. See more particulars of this little animal, and our account of ſquirrels, porcupines, &c. in the Natural Hiſtory of *Canada*, p. 38. Wood-rat.

The beavor, hedge-hog, crocodile, and ſome land tortoiſes are found in theſe regions, with frogs a foot and half long, the croak of which is loud and horridly diſagreeable. In the woods and Savannahs are ſeveral ſorts of ſerpents, none of which is ſo much to be feared as the rattle ſnake, whoſe tail, in which is a rattle, proclaims the danger of his coming, and that plant which is an antidote againſt his poiſon, is always found near him. We have here alſo chameleons, various other ſorts of lizards, and very large ſpiders. Other beaſts. Rattle ſnake. Reptiles.

We ſhall now proceed to the birds and fiſhes peculiar to this part of the world, in which our author confines himſelf, with his uſual fidelity, to deſcribing ſuch only as he had an opportunity of knowing; and theſe, he obſerves, are very few in compariſon with what the country affords. The eagle is not here ſo large as in *Europe*; its feathers are white edged with black, vaſtly eſteemed by the natives, and uſed in adorning their calmut, or ſignal of peace. They have alſo ſeveral ſorts of hawks; but their birds of prey rather level their rage againſt hares, rabbits, ſquirrels, and other quadrupeds, than againſt their own ſpecies. Birds and fiſhes. Eagle. Hawks.

Their ſwan is large, fat, and good eating; and its feathers in high eſtimation for adorning crowns, and making head-dreſſes for women, and tippets. It flies high, and is larger than ours. Swan.

The ſaw bill ſo named from part of its bill being indented like a ſaw, lives only, as it is ſaid, on ſhrimps, which it picks from the ſhell, after breaking it with its bill. The crook-bill [*bec-croche*] is as large as a capon; its feathers are white, and its fleſh, though red, good eating. It feeds on cray-fiſh. The hatchet-bill [*bec de-hache*] takes its name from the reſemblance of its bill, which is red, to the edge of a hatchet, it is ſometimes called *red-foot*, the legs and feet being of a beautiful red. It hunts by the ſea-ſide in ſearch of ſhell-fiſh, on which it ſubſiſts, and its retreat within land is an infallible ſign of a ſtorm. The king-fiſher differs from that in *Europe* only by the beauty of his plumage, which diſplays all the colours of the rainbow. Saw-bill. Crook-bill. Hatchet-bill. King-fiſher.

Our author obſerves, that when the booby, the man of war-bird, and cheſs bird, (one ſeemingly of the ſame ſpecies, but ſwifter flighted, and chequered with brown and white) fly low, they are ſure prognoſtics of a ſtorm; whereas the appearance of a halycon is quite the reverſe; an obſervation known to all the world. He deſcribes the laſt as ſomewhat larger than a ſwallow, with a longer bill, and the fineſt violet feathers, with two ſtreaks of yellowiſh brown near the extremity of its wings, and one coming over the back. Prognoſticks of a ſtorm. Halcyon

He

Observations on that bird.

He says that one of them, to the great joy of the sailors, followed the ship, in which he returned to *Europe* for 3 days, during which time it often dived, to pick up, as he supposed, such insects as chanced to drop from the sides or bottom; and rose exactly where it disappeared. As it made no use of its legs or feet in this submersion, like other aquatic birds, he supposes it to have been assisted in its motion by the suction of the ship; and he was confirmed in this opinion by its taking wing when it left them.

Parroquets.

The parroquets are easily taught to speak, but, like the natives are seld m heard. They are mostly of a fine sea-green, with a saffron-colour head, reddish near the bill.

Corbijeau.

The corbijeau is very common, and as large as the woodcock; the feathers exhibit a pleasing variety of colours; the beak is crooked, long and reddish, which is also the colour of its feet. The author prefers its flesh to that of the woodcock; he also slights the meat of the pheasant, which is however, in his eye, the most beautiful bird he ever saw: but he has omitted to describe it; and his figure of the flamingo is so incorrect, that we may venture to affirm it was never drawn from the life, or, if it was, the artist must have been a sad bungler.

Wood-pigeons.

The number of wood-pigeons which swarm here in winter, and in *Canada*, where they remain till autumn is astonishing; in *Louisiana* they feed upon acorns, in *Canada* they do much mischief by devouring the grain. They may be taken by finding out their recesses, and fumigating them with brimstone in the night. By this means they fall from the branches in heaps, and torches should also be provided to frighten them, and afford light at the same time for collecting them.

Pope.

We have already spoken of the cardinal; and ought to beg pardon of his infallibility for not having given precedence to the pope, a bird with red and black feathers, but of a grave aspect. When it sings, which is rare, its notes are soft and weak, as if it were old.

Bishop.

We should be wanting in respect to the dignity of the two last mentioned ecclesiastics, if we took no notice of an inferior order of clergy provided to attend them; wherefore the naturalists have appointed them a bishop. He is not so large as a finch, and feeds upon a sort of millet, natural to this soil; his wings are of a deep violet, and the rest of his plumage a dark blue. His song is so harmonious, and his notes so soft and various, that those who hear him scruple not to set him in competition with the nightingale. It continues it here a quarter of an hour, without seeming to breath: he then pauses, and when once he begins seldom ceases, except to rest, in less than 2 hours.

Accident.

One of these birds was wont to visit *M. du Pratz* every evening, which in the end had like to have almost literally verified the proverb, and have brought an old house about the good father's ears. A large oak, on which his visitant was wont to perch, and of which he was therefore very careful, came thundering down one stormy night upon his roof, and went near to demolish it.

Besides these, and many others, of which we have no account, they have here the flamingo, the carion-crow of the *Antilles*, the grand-gosier, sometimes called a pelican, cormorants, cranes, wild geese, wild ducks, teal, widgeon, divers, wild turkeys, herons, egrets, spatulas, golains, bitterns, gulls, sea-pies, snipes, patridges, owls large and white, swallows, martins, wood-peckers, ortolans, turtles, nightingales, black-birds, finches, wrens, and humming birds.

Insects.

Among the most remarkable insects is the silk-worm, one called the tobacco worm, which is very destructive to that shrub, and caterpillars; the latter are indeed few, but produce butterflies of incomparable beauty. In the meadows are black grasshoppers,

Grasshoppers.

or locusts, which seldom leap, and seldomer take wing. They are often 3 inches long, and as thick as ones finger, with a head like a horse, and have beautiful purple wings.

Cats feed on them with great avidity. The bears search eagerly for honey, without regarding the stings of the bees, which its rough skin prevents from feeling. The

Bees.

bees here either burrow under ground, or retire to deposit their honey in the depth of the forest, whither their enemies seldom penetrate.

Green fly. Cantharides.

The green fly is larger than the common bee, and his back is covered with a beautiful green armour, which has a pleasing effect. The fire or lanthorn-fly abounds here, as also cantharides, which inflames the skin that they touch, and may be fed with ash-leaves. Brimstone burned morning and evening is sure to drive away the muskettoes, as our author has experienced. Here are many other sorts of troublesom creatures, too tedious to mention.

Fishes.

Of fish we have here the surgeon and sardinia fish, barbles 3 or 4 feet long, carp, pike, eal, oisters, muscles, and many others, which have been either described above, or have not come under the inspection of the author whom we have consulted.

Th:

Of the Origin, Manners, Cuſtoms, Laws, and Religion of the ancient Inhabitants of LOUISIANA.

Introduction.

HAD we undertaken a complete account of a country which had preſerved its annals and records from age to age, and had undergone, as well as moſt others, revolutions in literature, we doubtleſs ſhould begin its hiſtory with tracing the origin of the people. But, as we have no lights from antient hiſtory or tradition to ſhew us the direct way, we are obliged to take a contrary courſe, and from conſidering the manners, cuſtoms, laws, and religion of the different nations or rather tribes, of this vaſt tract of land, and comparing them with thoſe of other nations, endeavour to deliver ſome probable conjecture concerning their firſt origin and extraction: the neceſſity of this manner of proceeding will we hope excuſe our ſeeming defect in point of method.

Indolence of the *Louiſianians*.

The induſtry of the inhabitants of *Louiſiana* extends no farther than their neceſſities: to ſupply themſelves with ſubſiſtence, and provide ſecurity againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſons, is the utmoſt extent of their invention. To cut down trees for fuel and building, they had ſuch a ſort of hatchet as that uſed by the natives of *Canada*; their knives were formed out of a reed, which is very common; their bows were made of Acacia, and ſtrung firſt with a tough bark of a tree, but exchanged in proceſs of time for thongs twiſted of the skins of the beaſts which they hunted down; the feathers of birds afforded them ornament, and their utenſils, dreſs &c. as were much the ſame as has been already deſcribed in the hiſtory of *Canada*.

America very populous.

The continent of *America* appears to have been very populous before the arrival of the *Spaniards*; as is evident both from tradition, and the hiſtories of their diſcoveries and conqueſts. The deſtruction made among theſe people by the *Spaniſh* arms is too well known to need in this [illegible] a recapitulation.

Unpeopled by the ſword of the *Spaniards*.

By ſuicide.

We are aſſured alſo that many tribes, both in *Peru* and *Mexico*, devoted themſelves voluntarily as ſacrifices to the manes of their ſovereign, who periſhed either by nature or the ſword, while others, preferring ſuicide to ſlavery, fell the victims to liberty by their own hands, to eſcape the tyranny of the *Spaniards*.

Civil wars.

The warlike diſpoſition alſo of ſome of theſe people has helped to thin them conſiderably. For while inſtigated by revenge, animoſity, or ſome other paſſion, they waged long and bloody wars with their neighbours, they weakened themſelves very much, though even crowned with conqueſt.

Small-pox.

They have been alſo viſited by two diſeaſes, which have made conſiderable ravage among them, and againſt which their phyſicians, or cunning men, have no defence, though in other caſes often wonderfully skilful. Theſe diſtempers are the ſmall-pox and colds. They fall before the ſmall-pox like graſs under the ſcythe; for they live all under one roof, and neither light nor air can enter but through the door, which is ſeldom more than four feet high, and two broad. This diſorder no ſooner ſeizes one, but the whole family, not even the oldeſt excepted, contract the infection. As they are naturally clean-skinned, and well made, conſequently greatly alarmed at the eruptions of the puſtules from this diſtemper; they fly to the water, to waſh them off, if poſſible, and though they know it to be a fatal reſource, they will perſiſt, unleſs prevented by ſome of their friends.

Miſtakes of geographers

Our author deſires us to obſerve, that in the maps and charts of *Louiſiana* there will be found many more nations named, than he takes notice of in his hiſtory: but this he deſires the reader will not impute to his neglect, but to the careleſsneſs of travellers, who have taken many things upon truſt, and given imaginary ſituations to nations, with whoſe bare names they were only acquainted: ſome of theſe perhaps no longer exiſt, and others have been ſwallowed up by their more powerful neighbours, among whom their name is intirely loſt. Upon the whole, he ſays, it is certain, that their number is greatly diminiſhed, and that ſcarcely more than one third of the country, marked in the maps as populous, is at preſent inhabited.

Alibamous and the *Apalachins* nations.

On the firſt eſtabliſhments, made by the *French* in this country, they carried on a friendly correſpondence, drove ſome trade with the *Alibamous*, who are no friends to the *Engliſh*, and lie North of the *Apalachins*. They are a powerful people, but of late

late the intercourse with them has been dropped, as being too far removed from the *Mississipi* river on the banks of which the colony is settled.

Chatots nation. After this our author gives a succinct history of the nations inhabiting the banks of the river *Mobile*, from its mouth upward. The *Chatots* consisting of about 40 hamlets, are nearest the sea; they profess themselves *Roman* catholics, and endeavour to shew the *French* every act of kindness in their power. The *French* colony of *Fort Louis* lies near them to the North.

Thomez. A little North of the fort are the *Thomez*, a small catholic nation, whose servile

Taensas. friendship often makes them troublesome. The *Taensas* consisting of about 100 hamlets are a little more to the North. They are derived from the *Natchez*, and commit the care of the eternal fire to young men; being strongly persuaded that women would never sacrifice their liberty to it. But more of this hereafter. Near the bay

Mobile nation, river and bay. is found the *Mowill* nation, called by the *French Mobile*, whose name is also given to the river and bay. The *French* on their arrival here found all the small nations at peace, in which they still continue, being covered on the East by other nations, which stand as bulwarks between them and the *Iroquois*. The *Chickasaws* regard these nations as brethren, because they speak the same tongue, which is the language of those bordering on the East of the *Mobile*.

Pacha-ogloua nation. The *Pacha-ogloua*s, or *the nation of bread*, consisting of about 30 hamlets, lies West of the *Mobile*, near a bay bearing the same name. Among them are mixed some *Canadians*, who live with them as brethren. For as they are naturally of an easy temper, and well acquainted with the characters of the different people, they know how to deport themselves amicably among any of the *Indian* nations.

Languages. The *Taensas* have preserved among them their native tongue, which is that of the *Natchez*, but they speak a corrupted Chickasaws, called by the *French*, the *Mobilian* language. The Chat-kaws, who, in comparison of the Chickasaws, are mere moderns, preserve also their own tongue intermixed with some Chickasaw words; and our author discoursed with them in the latter tongue. These people are dependant on *Great Britain*.

Aqueloa Pissas nation. There is a small nation within a league of *New Orleans*, and North of the lake, with which the *French* have no great communication; they speak a sort of Chickasaws, and have about twenty hamlets, or rather huts. They are called *Aqueloa pissas*, which signifies a nation that can both hear and see; the *French call them Colapissas*.

Oumas. On the East coast of the *Mississipi* river lies the *Oumas* or *red nation*. Some *French* who were at first fixed here, did them great prejudice, by allowing them an immoderate use of strong waters. *New Orleans* is about 20 leagues distant.

Tonicas. The Tonicas a fragment of a nation always upon good terms with the *French*, are situated up along the river *Mississipi*, opposite the Red River. They used to assist the *French* in their wars, and their chief was strongly attached to their interest, which being properly represented at *Versailles*, the king, by brevet, appointed him brigadier of his armies, and sent him a gold headed cane, and a blue ribbon, to which was hung a silver medal representing his marriage. And the reverse was a view of *Paris*. Of these signal marks of friendship the Indian was very ostentatious. The Tonicas differ in some particulars, and a little in their language from the neighbouring nations: as for instance, in using the letter *R*, to which the others are strangers. Their

Natchez. chief abovementioned was wounded in assisting against the *Natchez*, who were formerly one of the most respectable of all these nations, both with respect to their customs and behaviour.

In 1720 the *Natchez*, were settled on and about a small river, to which they gave name. They had among them two nations, who had implored, and obtained their

Grigras. protection; one of these the *French* call *Grigras*, from their frequent uttering these two syllables. But this name will hardly appear consistent with our author's observation, that those people were easily distinguished by strangers among the *Natchez*, as being incapable of pronouncing the letter *R*. Their language is nearly the same with that

Thioux. of the Chickasaws. The other nation settled among the *Natchez* is the remainder of the *Thioux*, a people once very formidable, warlike, and restless, by which means they drew upon themselves the indignation of the Chickasaws, whom they resisted with desperate obstinacy, and never gave way till they were no longer able to oppose the arms of their enemies.

These

These three nations together can now muster about 1200 men, whereas tradition informs us, that the *Natchez* were formerly the most powerful nation in all *North America*, and respected by all others as their superiors. They formerly stretched from *Manchare*, which is 50 leagues from the sea, to the river *Wabache*, at the distance of 460. Among them were 500 princes, whom they called *suns*, [*soleils*] nothing could exceed the vanity of these grandees, in preparing the detestable custom of permitting people to sacrifice themselves upon their funeral bier; a destruction which men and women voluntarily, nay gladly embraced, imagining by this action to secure to themselves a happy situation in a future world; that they should be retained in the service of their prince, without fear or punishment, that they should not suffer by hunger, thirst, heat, or cold; that they should have every sort of food they could wish; and to crown all, they should neither suffer nor die. It must however be observed that two branches of these people, whose princes were more humane than the rest, withdrew from the main body, and with some few followers settled upon distant lands to preserve their people from falling a prey to this desperate barbarity. These are the *Yacnsas*, of whom we have just now spoken, and the *Tchitimachas*, whom the *Natchez* always regarded as brethren.

Natchez formerly powerful.

Tragical effects of vanity and credulity.

Forty leagues North keeping the great river on the East, are the *Yazoux*, possessing about 100 huts on the banks of a river, to which they give name; and farther upon this river are the *Coroas* in about 40 huts; who pronounce R.

Yazoux, nation and river.

Coroas nation.

The *Chactioumas*, or *red lobsters*, have about 50 huts on the same river. The *Ouspeuglas* about 60, and the *Tapoussas* not more than 25.

Chactioumas.

Ouspeuglas, and *Tapoussas* nation.

North of the river *Wabache*, near the banks of the *Mississipi* are the *Illinois*, who give name to a river, along the sides of which they are scattered in several villages, near one of which, called *Tamarouas*, there is one of the most considerable *French* settlements possessed by some *Canadians*: for these people have been always stanch to the *French* interest, and assisted them as much as possible in their discoveries, particularly of *Louisiana*, nor is that complaisance, which gives them so easy an ingress among other *American* people, any mark of their want of courage, which has been often tried and approved.

Illinois.

Tamarouas, *French* settlement.

The *Renards* lie farther North, and are a large nation, who have for a long time been in peace, tho' they were formerly fond of war. The *Sioux* are a vast way beyond these, without any intermediate nation, and are dispersed East and West, on both sides of the great river. In going from the sea North, keeping West of the river *Mississipi*, the first nation we find is a very small one, known by the name of *Tchonachas*, and *Onachas*, the last being a small village united to it. It lies between the river *Mississipi*, and the lake.

Renards.

Sioux.

Tchonachas and *Onachas*.

In this neighbourhood are also the remains of the *Tchtimachas*, who from a numerous people are dwindled into nothing. Many of them were destroyed by the *Indians* in alliance with the *French*, whom they therefore hate, and prefer living solitary and remote from other people, and especially declining all correspondence with those *Europeans*, to whom they would by no means be obliged. The first occasion of this difference was their murder of a missionary, who was going down the river. His death was revenged: and hence hostilities commenced on both sides. This nation, which is not of a martial turn, lost many of its bravest people; in consequence of which they sued for peace, and it was granted them, on condition of their bringing in the head of the assassin. They did so, and at the same time presented the calmut to the *French* governor.

Tchtimachas.

At war with the *French*.

Along the western coast, not far from the sea, there is a nation of men-eaters, who are supposed to feed upon their enemies. The *French* call them *Atac-atsas*, but our author says they have some more proper appellation, which he could never learn. They correspond with other *Indian* nations, but have no communication with *Europeans*.

Canibals.

The adventures of an officer of some consideration, who in the infancy of the colony fell into the hands of these *Anthropophagi*, may not be thought perhaps amiss in this place, as it may afford proper caution to people, whose fortune may lead them into this part of the world. A vessel from *France* coming to an anchor at the bottom of the river *Mississipi*, the captain-general sent down a brigantine, on board which was Mr. *Charleville*, a *Canadian*, perfectly well acquainted with all the *Indian* nations, among whom he had often travelled, with orders to the master to supply the brigantine with an officer and a few soldiers, to proceed on discoveries; but the

Adventures of an officer among the canibals.

the particular orders our author has not noted. The master, in compliance with the governor's orders, sent an officer, named *Belle-Isle*, a serjeant called *Silvester*, and some men on board the brigantine, with whom she proceeded to St. *Bernard's Bay*. Here the crew went ashore, pleased with the beauty of the country, which abounded with game, whereby they were tempted to walk in the woods, farther than prudence should have suggested; nor were all the remonstrances of M. *Charleville*, whose experience had taught him that the consequences might be fatal, of force to dissuade them from a proceeding of which in the end they had reason heartily to repent: when they left the ship, the master warned them not to wander too far, and desired they would return early in the evening. He also told them that if they did not return back that night, he would fire two warning guns in the morning, and set sail in two hours after, if the wind continued fair; promising moreover, that, if they should not appear betimes in the evening he would fire a gun for directing them to the sea side. He kept his word. But they heard the discharge at the time appointed, but imagined from the reverberation, that it came from a contrary quarter; so that what was intended for their preservation, led them farther astray. In the morning, the signal guns of departure were fired from the brigantine, and the Captain waited for them, till he almost lost his tide, to no purpose; the next day, ammunition beginning to run short, *Charleville* struck off to the *East*, supposing it the way to the river, but could not prevail on his company to follow. The serjeant quite spent with fatigue and hunger, dropped down under a tree, where probably he ended his days. *Belle-Isle* being young and vigorous kept up his spirits, and proceeded, till in a little time, he lighted on a wood-rat, an animal extremely sluggish, which he knocked down, flead and devoured with high relish. Sometime after, he fired upon a roe-buck, which he killed, and having husbanded his ammunition, had a little left, but the noise of his piece brought down upon him some of the natives of *Attac-assas*, in whose country he was, and he found himself surrounded, and a prisoner, before he had the smallest apprehension of danger; resistance was in vain, and it was to as little purpose to endeavour informing them by signs of his being a traveller, who had missed his way. Had he known the customs of this part of the world, where the people lie in ambuscade, and steal upon their enemy like a wolf on its prey, he would not have gone a step without looking cautiously about him to prevent a surprise; and in that case he would have gone up directly to the first man that approached him, with a pleasant yet resolute countenance, laid down his arms, and held out his hand in token of amity. A traveller in such circumstances, who observes these directions, has nothing to fear; but may promise himself every possible assistance. He remained several months in slavery among these people, but the nature of his employment, or the hardships he underwent, we are not told: it does not appear, however, notwithstanding their anthropophagan characters, that they had any intention of fattening him for the spit or the pot. At length he was discovered by his mein to be a *Frenchman* by certain *Indians* of *New Spain* who had brought hither the *Calmut*. They named to him M. St. *Denis* who commanded among the *Nachticloukas*. It was all he understood of their language; but he knew the name to be *French*, and expressed his satisfaction by signs at hearing it. He then made a shift to scrawl upon a bit of paper, which he luckily had about him, that he was a *French* officer of *Louisiana*, who had been lost with *Charleville*. This he directed to St. *Denis*, and dispatched it so privately by two *Indians*, whom their countrymen gave out to be lost, and delayed their departure, under pretence of waiting their return. The two *Indians* did not stay long, but when they came back, kept themselves very private in the woods, contriving however to give notice of their proximity to their comrades, and conveying by the same channel to St. *Denis*'s answer, the sum of which was a direction to take these two men for two guides; and depend upon this conduct, for his safe deliverance from the present calamity; which was accordingly effected. We should have remarked, that his ink, when he wrote to St. *Denis*, was charcoal, pounded and mixed with water, and a sort of pen made of a turkey quill; and also that the correspondence between him and his unexpected friends for his release, was carried on so privately, that his task-masters had not the least suspicion of it; so that he found it easy to secret himself in the woods, according to his instructions.

Bayonne-Ogoulas Territory.

The people who once inhabited the territory called *Bayonne Ogoulas*, are now dispersed elsewhere. On the border of two small lakes to the westward, covered by a craggy point of land, is a nation known only by name to the *French* called *Ogue Loussas*,

Louſſas, or *Black Water*, becauſe the lakes are covered with leaves which give the water that colour. Between theſe and the *Avoyels*, a ſmall nation inhabiting the banks of the red river, which is very rapid, we find the country quite deſerted. Theſe people uſed to ſupply the *French*, ſettled at *Louiſiana*, with horſes, cows and calves, at a very moderate price. At preſent they have them in vaſt plenty, without any purchaſe. *Ogui Louſſas.* *Avoyels* Nation.

Fifty leagues up the red river, near a *French* ſettlement, is the nation of *Nachitochetoches*, conſiſting of about 200 huts, they have no love for the *Spaniards*, but are well attached to the *French*, who have a ſettlement very near them. There are ſome ſcattered branches of this nation, but none of them numerous. *Nachitochet.*

About a hundred leagues from the place where this river falls into the *Miſſiſſipi*, are the habitations of a vaſt nation called *Cadodaquioux*, which extends in different tribes a vaſt way. They as well as the people beforementioned, have a language peculiar to themſelves; but that of *Chickaſaws* is underſtood among them all, like *lingua franca* in the *Levant*; they call it the vulgar tongue. *Cadodaquioux.*

The *Ouachitas* are intermixed among them, having abandoned the black river, to which they gave name, to avoid the rage of the *Chickaſaws*, who dare not follow them; for the ſame reaſon the *Tuenſas*, who formerly inhabited this coaſt, near a river to which they lent their denomination, withdrew to the neighbourhood of the *Mobilians*, where we before took notice of them. Theſe martial gentry alſo made war upon the *Arkanſas*, a nation of good warriors, and able huntſmen, but met a reception ſo very warm, that they were glad to deſiſt, more eſpecially as they found them joined by the *Kappas*, *Mitchigamias* and a party of *Illinois*. There are no other people on the banks of this river, though the contrary has been advanced by former travellers. *Ouachitas.* *Arkanſas Kappas, Mitchigamias* Nations.

The *Miſſouris* are a numerous people, on the banks of the famous river ſo called. The *French* had here a ſettlement, the garriſon of which was ſurpriſed and cut off by the natives. There are many other ſmall nations about the *Miſſouris*, the re-capitulating which would be tedious; and north of them all, a branch of the *Sioux* was thought formerly to have reſided. Our author is inclined to believe, that they formerly were to be found on both ſides of the great river; and he juſtly obſerves that we muſt be content to wait ſome centuries before we can arrive at any certain knowledge of the vaſt tract of land running *North* of *Louiſiana*. *Miſſouris.*

The firſt *French* ſettlement made in this province, was upon the *Mobile*, where the commander in chief reſided; but ſince the foundation of *New Orleans* on the banks of the great river, which is now the capital, it has been in a good meaſure deſerted. Here is however a garriſoned fort, with four ſtrong baſtions, that ſecure the furr trade on this ſide, awes the neighbouring nations, and cuts off the *Chatkaws* from correſponding with the *Engliſh*, who are alſo curtailed in their views on the *Chickaſaws* ſide, by fort *Tombec*, built in 1736. Fort *Tombec.*

Not far from the *Mobile* is a ſettlement of ſome *Canadians*, who contented with little, prefer the ſmall advantages of rural labour to all the profits of tillage; and who only viſit *New Orleans* when they want neceſſaries. A rural ſettlement of *Canadians.*

Among the different nations into which *Louiſiana* is divided, *Du Pratz* informs us that of the *Natchez* is the moſt remarkable; being not only very numerous, but better poliſhed than the reſt, their way of thinking more conſiſtent with humanity; their ſentiments more refined; and their cuſtoms more reconciliable to reaſon: therefore in deſcribing the cuſtoms and manners of the people of this country in general, he draws his information principally from the *Natchez*. *Natchez*, a poliſhed nation.

The natives of *Louiſiana*, and almoſt all the *Americans*, are ſtrong, nervous, and well made; with black eyes and hair, regular features, and none leſs than five feet and a half high; the women are rather lower than the men; but giants, dwarfs, and deformed men are unknown among them. They are white when born, at which time care is taken to waſh them in cold water: by degrees they become brown, and to this, the rubbing them with oil and bears fat, contributes not a little: beſides which, it renders their limbs more flexile, and ſaves them from the ſtinging of the muſkitoes. As they grow up they are furniſhed with bows and arrows proportioned to their ſtrength, and by way of exerciſe and diverſion, try their ſkill at a mark. He that excells is ſure of great praiſe, and ſtiled the great warriour, a title of which they are not a little proud: they alſo delight in running races. Complexion and ſtature of the natives.

As they live to a very great age, the oldeſt of a family is the moſt reſpected, and his will obeyed with as much caution as if he was a ſovereign prince. Great care is taken to prevent among them quarrels and diſputes; they rarely happen. All are Reſpect paid to old age.

taught the uſe and neceſſity of labour; but the women are rather more employed than the men, they are obliged when young, every morning to waſh and ſwim under the direction of one of their elders, without regard to ſex, (mothers who have the care of infants excepted) and this inures them to fatigue, ſtrengthens their limbs, and fits them better for war. They never ſtrike or beat their youth, but endeavour to inſtruct them by repeated precepts and example.

Their belief. Theſe people believe in one great and good God incapable of evil, who created the world, and whoſe common commands are executed by angels, or ſubſervient ſpirits, of which an inferior order who have offended him, govern in the air; and theſe they invoke for rain, or ſun-ſhine, as it may be wanting to the ground. Man he created, ſay they, with his own hand, and the whole world is the produce of his wiſdom and power.

The ſacred fire explain'd. The ſacred fire, of which we have before made ſome mention, was, according to the account given of it to our miſſioner, by the principal perſon entruſted with the care of it, enkindled by means of a miraculous flame, brought from the ſun, by a holy perſon who had deſcended himſelf from that planet, and whom they had choſen for their ſovereign, ſubmitting to a ſet of laws which he laid down for their government, and which were admirably adapted to the advantage of ſociety.

Precept of their firſt grand *Soleil*. He taught benevolence, ſocial love and reſignation to the divine will, as points indiſpenſably neceſſary to be obſerved; to avoid quarrelling, and to deteſt murder, adultery, untruth, avarice and drunkenneſs. From him are their ſovereigns deſcended, who are alſo called ſoleils, *Suns*, for he lived to a very great age, and ſaw the children of his children flouriſh. Our authe- aſtoniſhed the prieſt, who had given him this account, by enkindling ſome fuel with reflection of the ſun beams upon a piece of glaſs, which glaſs, the grand ſoleil intreated of the father as a very great favour; it was given him, and he was very fond to uſe it.

Government of the *Natchez*. This monarch, if we may be ſo allowed to call him, governs with deſpotic power; he has no law but that of reaſon, and diſpoſes at will of the lives of his ſubjects. So good uſe does he happen to make of this authority, that no evil attempt upon him is ever heard of. His ſtipends are very conſiderable, tho' not ſtated, being free gifts, pledges of his people's love, and reſpect, and never levied by any ſort of taxation.

Feaſt of the new corn. Among their many religious feſtivals, the moſt ſolemn is, that of gathering in the new corn, on which they all aſſemble to feed in common, and have ſome particular ceremonies, with a relation of which we ſhall not now detain the reader. They are particularly tenacious of precedency, whether in public or private, and ſuch is the diſtinction of ſexes, that a boy of two years of age, is permitted to take place of a woman. Each man is abſolute in his own family, as long as he lives; he governs his children, and his children's children, with an uncontroulable rule, and when he dies, the next to him in years aſſumes the domeſtic command.

Their rules for intermarrying. They never marry within the third degree, and the oldeſt of each family, agree upon the terms of the match, without conſulting any of the minors, whom, however they never join againſt their conſent; the man having firſt aſked her hand of the woman.

Marriage ceremonies. The day for the ceremony being arrived, the bride is conducted to the houſe of the bridegroom by all her family, with ſilence and ſolemnity. They are received at the door by all his friends, who invite them to enter the houſe, which they do, with few words and little ceremony. For compliments and talkativeneſs, are by them deemed loſs of time. Having ſeated themſelves, after ſome ſpace, the old men on each ſide ariſe, and the contracted parties do the ſame. A ſhort ſpeech is then made them, in which they are deſired not to marry unleſs they find themſelves impelled by mutual liking; and previouſly reſolved to live together happily; "this union," ſays the ancient orator, "muſt be of your own choice, think not your friends are here aſſembled "to force your inclinations; if either of you has any objection, declare it, that we "may break off." The father of the bridegroom then delivers the portion intended for his ſon, into his cuſtody, and he, having aſked the love and hand of the bride, and being anſwered ſatisfactorily, gives it in keeping to her father. The nuptials being celebrated with ſome other ceremonies, their company gives themſelves up to merriment, and generally dance till morning.

Grand diviſion of the people. The *Natchez* are divided into two grand claſſes, *viz.* The nobles and the people. The people are alſo diſtinguiſhed by an appellation that implies ſticking, *Miché-miché-Quiſy*, however they do not much reliſh being called ſo. They each of them have a

language

language peculiar to themſelves, that of the nobles being much the purer and more excellent, being ſtrong, ſmooth and copious, having nouns ſubſtantive declined like the Latin; without articles.

The nobles are divided into ſoleils, nobles and reſpected (*conſidéres*). We have already made mention that the ſoleils are ſo named, becauſe they are deſcended from a man and a woman who made the people believe they came from the ſun, the *French* for which is *Soleil*. This couple commanded that their poſterity ſhould be always diſtinguiſhed above the main body of the nation; that none of them ſhould be on any account put to death, but be permitted to end their days in peace according to the courſe of nature. Subdiviſions.

In order to preſerve purity of blood, the title of ſoleils is only tranſmitted in the female line. The male children bear the appellation but for their natural lives; their iſſue are ranked among the nobles, and the offſpring of theſe among the conſidéres, or reſpected; thus declining until they are reduced among the people. Nor is it unuſual for a Soleil to live to ſee his poſterity thus degenerated. When the grand Soleil dies, he is not ſucceeded by any of his children, but by the eldeſt ſon of his neareſt kinſwoman; and at his or her interment, the huſband or wife is always put to death to keep them company in the world of ſpirits. And often, all his next a kin, voluntarily devote themſelves to the flames, or fall by the ſword. The natives of this country are in general very ſuperſtitious, obſervers of omens, the flight of birds, &c. and curious to dive into the ſecrets of futurity. When one people, are about to declare war againſt another. A council of their oldeſt and beſt warriors is aſſembled in a hut, at the door of which the calmet of war is fixed on a pole. The occaſion of the intended breach is then diſcourſed upon, and immediate hoſtilities always recommended by the chiefs, in which they find their account, being in war more reſpected and inveſted with more authority than in time of peace; their determination is always ſubſcribed to by the chief or ſovereign, the council being held in his preſence, and he, as well as his ſubjects holding in the higheſt eſteem the elders and their judgement. Sometimes it is agreed, to ſend an ambaſſador to the power, with whom they are at variance, to offer the calmet of peace, but without any preſents, leaſt it ſhould be thought they wanted to purchaſe it, in the mean time they ſollicit the aid and aſſiſtance of their neighbours. They moſt commonly march by night to prevent their enemies diſcovering them, and carry on the war as much as poſſible by ambuſcade and ſurpriſe, taking care to leave behind them as few marks as poſſible whereby they may be traced. Such women and children as they make priſoners they enſlave, the men they reſerve for a public ſacrifice, putting them with great cruelty to death; and drowning their cries with inceſſant repetitions of the war-hoop. Rank tranſmitted in the female line. Superſtition of theſe *Natchez*. Councils of War.

None but the ſoleils and guardians of the ſacred fire are permitted to enter the temple containing the ſacred fire; the guardians are eight; their buſineſs is to ſee the fire kept up, two of them are always acting, and they are relieved quaterly: the ſacred fire is preſerved in more temples than one, that it may be reſtored, in caſe of its expiring in one place, from another.

The aſhes of the firſt grand ſoleil are depoſited in the grand temple of *Natchez*, in a ſort of urn made of cane, and very prettily wrought. It ſtands upon an altar four feet high, ſix long, and two broad. They have a particular veneration for the memory of their dead, and erect a ſort of tomb over every body that is interred, to which for a great while they carry victuals and drink. All the nations of *Louiſiana* have their reſpective temples, which are either grander or meaner, according to their reſpective force or wealth. That of *Natchez* in particular, is a ſolid regular building, on an eminence near a ſmall river, it is about thirty feet every way; the wood compoſing it being cypreſs, is deemed incorruptible; and on the roof; which is ſhelving, are three large birds cut in wood, ſomething like geeſe, and looking to the Eaſt.

They have few holidays, and ſcarcely any ſort of diverſions; except a fatiguing game, reſembling our pitching the bar, and playing the quoits both intermixed, of this they are ſo very fond, that they often play away every thing they have, and when thus reduced, become public ſpoilers, taking by force from the neighbours, whatever they may ſtand in need of. In their viſits, they ſpeak little, the gueſt takes his ſeat, and rigid ſilence is obſerved, till he breaks it. You never ſee two people in company chattering at the ſame time; and for this they laugh at the *French*, who often all talk together. Their diverſions. Their viſits.

Their

Their food, and beverage.

Their food is beef, veniſon, bear's and dog's fleſh, with every ſort of aquatic birds, and fiſh without exception. They either roaſt their meat on a wooden ſpit, or broil it, and they have maiz ſerved up at all their meals, differently prepared; or in lieu of it potatoes. They have no ſet hours for dining, except at public entertainments, when they all ſit down together, and in token of unanimity eat out of the ſame diſh, the women and children excepted, who have their reſpective ſhares given to themſelves: at other times, they eat or drink, according as they find they have appetite. They are afraid of made diſhes, and the *French* have never been able, either by example or reaſoning, to perſuade them to their ſoups, or ragouts; they not knowing what to make of the ingredients. They will drink nothing but water, or brandy, the clearneſs of theſe liquours determine their goodneſs; for if it be clear, they do not think it can poſſibly be ſophiſticated.

Their faſting.

When they want to make interceſſion with heaven, for any particular benefit, they make intereſt with one of their elders reputed for ſanctity among them, to intercede for them. He does it by faſting nine days, during which time he abſtains entirely from venery and from all manner of food til ſun ſet, when a meſs of gruel without ſalt, and a draught of water is brought for his refreſhment.

Regard to the grand ſoleil.

Beſides the obedience and profound reſpect paid by the *Natchez*, to the grand ſoleil, they are ſo ſtrongly attached to him; that when his neareſt relations die, not only all thoſe who are in his train, but numbers of others, ſacrifice themſelves to the manes, to have the honour of attending him or her, in the world to come, and hence comes it, that this nation is not near ſo populous as it might otherwiſe be.

This nation deſtroyed by the *French*.

In the year 1730, they were entirely cut off by the *French*, on account of their having joined in ſome ſchemes intended for their deſtruction, ſo that at preſent ſcarcely any thing remains of this once celebrated nation, but the name. Moſt authors who treat of this vaſt tract, obſerve that the beſt way of keeping peace with the different people, is to keep them at ſuch a diſtance, as may impreſs them with awe and veneration; but this impreſſion vaniſhes if you treat them with too much familiarity, verifying the proverb: "that familiarity breeds contempt."

Commercial advantages to be drawn from hence.

France draws conſiderable advantages from the furrs of *Louiſiana*, and in our hands they might be greatly improved. Large profits might alſo be drawn from the hides and fat of their oxen, for which alone the different nations kill them. The fruit of the wax-tree, is alſo a commodity worth dealing in as are the various kinds of wood for houſe-building, ſhip-building and ornament; and for the compleating a naval force here is plenty of hemp, and excellent iron.

The ſoil ſeems admirably adapted to the bearing of ſalt petre; and vaſt quantities of ſilk might be produced, as the worms thrive here well. Saffron, ſaſſafras, the copalm balm, and various other kinds of uſeful druggs are the produce of theſe climates, and always ſure of a ready market in *Europe*.

A concluſive character of the country.

To give a brief character of *Louiſiana*, we may venture to affirm that it abounds in grain, cattle, and rich commodities, which the many ſtreams watering the country, and falling into the great river *Miſſiſſipi* render ſtill more valuable; and no part of the world ſeems more happily adapted to ſecond the operations, and improve the glory of a maritime power, than this province of *America*.

The End of the Account of LOUISIANA.